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A

DISSERTATION

UPON THE

HIGH-ROADS

OF THE

Duchy of Lorraine,

As well ANCIENT as MODERN.

Done from the *FRENCH*

Together with

NOTES Historical and Genealogical,

Relating to

The Illustrious Family of *LORRAINE*.

ALSO

A Character of *LEOPOLD* the late DUKE.

To which is added,

An APPENDIX,

Being a DISSERTATION upon the Genealogical
Series of MEDALS of the Dukes and Duchesses
of Lorraine, lately struck.

*Miratur molam Aeneas, Magalia quondam
Miratur portas, Strepitumque, & strata Viarum.*
Virgil Aeneid L. 1.

LONDON:

Printed for T. WOODWARD in Fleetstreet, C. DAVIS in Paternoster Row, and R. WILLOCK in Cornhill, MDCCXXIX.

DISSERTATION

UPON THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Duchy of Cornwall

AND



BY

JOHN HENRY

THE HISTORY

OF THE

DUCHY OF CORNWALL

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE
DUCHY TO THE PRESENT TIME

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON: Printed for J. W. Johnson, in Pall-mall, 1794.

TO
H E N R Y

Duke of Beaufort.

MY LORD,

MY intention in publishing this small Treatise, which contains an exact description of the high-roads lately made in the duchy and territories of Lorraine, with a curious account of those the Romans had formerly made in the same province, is to shew

DEDICATION.

the people of Great Britain
(for whose use it is chiefly
designed) that it is in their
power to procure to them-
selves a conveniency they so
much want, and to put an
end to the universal com-
plaints made by natives
and foreigners of the bad-
ness of our roads, and to
raise in them that emulation
they are so susceptible of in
other particulars where they
exert and shew the superiori-
ty they have over all the rest
of the world: I hope your
Grace will forgive my in-
scribing it to You, and send-
ing

DEDICATION.

ing it abroad under your protection.

My Lord, there can be no better voucher than your self of the truth of this relation, since You have resided some time in Lorraine, travelled it over and over, and examined its high-roads, and other publick works with care and attention: And your personal knowledge of the excellent Prince who was the author of them, and of whose esteem and favour You had a large share, will enable You to bear witness

DEDICATION.

ness to all the good that can possibly be said of him.

And as your Grace's signal quality entitles You to the highest distinction in your own country, it is not to be doubted, but You will be among the first who will countenance and assist so useful and laudable a work as the making and repairing the high-roads in that part of it where your interest lies.

My Lord, I know your delicacy too well to venture
upon

DEDICATION.

upon indulging my self in the usual stile of addressees of this kind. I shall only take the liberty of assuring your Grace, that it was no small satisfaction to me and others of your Countrymen, to observe that the honour and respect paid you, wherever You travelled in foreign countries, was less owing to the knowledge they had of your high birth and quality, than to the dignity of your behaviour; and that your presence among them did not in the least diminish the idea they had conceived of
one

DEDICATION.

**one of the first Peers of Eng-
land.**

**My Lord, the greatest
pleasure I propose to my
self in publishing this little
Work, is in presenting it to
You as a proof of the zeal,
and profound respect where-
with I am,**

MY LORD,

Your Grace's

Most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

S. FRASER,

THE
P R E F A C E.

WHEN His Royal Highness the late Duke of Lorraine was, by the treaty of *Ryswick*, restor'd to the possession of his dominions, he found every thing in that disorder, which the master's absence, and the tumults of war, commonly occasion; and particularly the high roads were so neglected, and in so bad a condition, that he thought it incumbent upon him, to set about repairing them. And in order to it, he appointed the Count d'Hautoy, Seneschal of Lorraine, inspector and superintendent over the high-ways, bridges, and other publick works within his territories; and the choice was no small proof of the Prince's penetration and judgment; this gentleman,

man, by the quick and easy execution of his master's orders, shew'd that he was worthy of the province, and that the employment required a person of his understanding and authority.

Upon the finishing this noble and useful work, there was a medal struck in honour of his Royal Highness; the design was given by the same Count, and executed by Monsieur de St. Urbain graver to that Prince, who in his way is one of the greatest men of the age: Besides the vast number of excellent medals he has struck, he has just finished a genealogical series of the Dukes and Duchesses of this illustrious family, of such beauty and exactness as has gain'd him the approbation and esteem of the curious and learned world.

Augustin Calmet Abbot of Senone in that country, a person of singular piety, learning and knowledge in antiquity, has writ a Dissertation upon these

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these high roads, which serves for an explanation of the medal abovemention'd, at the same time that it gives a short historical account of high-ways in general; of the perfection they were brought to by the ancients; of the Princes and people (who had most distinguished themselves, in procuring to mankind the advantage of travelling with pleasure and security: And afterwards it gives a more particular account of those of Lorraine, which for beauty, solidity, and conveniency, surpass any the ancients perhaps ever made.

This small treatise, which for my own amusement I have made English, was originally writ in French; and these two following reasons have induced me to present it to the publick: In the first place, I was willing to embrace all occasions of doing (as far as it is in my power) justice and honour to the memory of a Prince to whom the British nation ow'd so many obligations: The

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gracious

gracious and civil manner in which he treated such of our nobility and gentry as went to his Court for their education; the care he took to provide the best masters in all the parts of exercise; the politeness of his Court (which was at the same time a school of virtue) and the restriction he put upon gaming, and the other extravagances to which young people are liable, by his example and edicts, are favours not to be forgot; but to be acknowledged with the utmost gratitude a nation is capable of, as the virtuous education of its youth is of the highest importance to it.

Of the great number of our countrymen, who travel into foreign parts, there are few who do not either reside at the Court of Lorraine for some considerable time, or see it in passing; which is equally a proof of the kind and genteel usage they meet with there, as well as a mark of the esteem they have for this illustrious family.

What

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What this Prince did in the course of his reign for the happiness of his people will best appear in the perusal of the following treatise.

In the next place it is too well known, that the high-roads in England are the worst and most neglected of any in Europe; and that the people have an unaccountable backwardness in contributing to the labour and expences necessary to the remedy of this great evil.

It is strange that in a country where the pleasures and conveniencies of life are carried to the highest pitch of elegance, that this one article of good roads, so essential to it should be overlook'd.

Would you visit a man of quality, or a gentleman in the country, after the middle of October, you are sure of the best entertainment in the world, but the question is how to get thither? and if

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you do, it is with no small uneasiness to yourself, and damage to your equipage: It is difficult to assign a reason for this negligence and indifference (not to call it worse) if it be not, that our horses are the most vigorous of any in the world, and their conductors the most skillful; these indeed are advantages, but not sufficient to supply the want of good roads. How often does it happen, that our stage and other travelling coaches stick in a hole till oxen are sent for to a village perhaps two or three miles distant, to pull them out? And even that is done with no small difficulty; for it is frequently with the loss of some part of the coach, or harness, which obliges the passengers to wade through dirt and water to a miserable little country ale-house. There are few who have travelled much in the roads of England in the winter season who have not met with such accidents; and some have lost their lives by more fatal ones.

I know

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I know our nobility and gentry are sufficiently sensible of this evil; I have often heard many of them speak of it with regret, and it is not to be doubted, but they would go chearfully into any measures for removing it; but as I said above, the people are backward and indolent in this particular.

Monfieur Bergier's excellent treatise of the high roads of the Empire is in many of our gentlemens libraries, but does not fall within the compass of common readers. I have therefore thought it might be of service to throw these few sheets among them, and to set before their eyes not only the example of the Romans, and other ancients, before and since their time, (which for its remote antiquity might seem fabulous to them, or at least make but little impression upon them) but also that of a neighbouring people, infinitely inferior to the English in riches, and every

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other quality requisite for carrying on and performing great and laborious works.

I am inform'd that Major General Wade has made excellent roads in many places of the Highlands of Scotland, for the more convenient marching of the troops, and the easier conveyance of provisions, and other munitions of war; had I seen a description of them, I would have added it to what I have said of those of Lorraine, for a further encouragement and example to the rest of my countrymen; but all I know of that matter is, that this worthy and diligent officer omits nothing for the advantage of the service; and that like a noble Peer who commanded in those parts some years ago, he does every thing with humanity, justice, and generosity; there is nothing vexatious in that gentleman's conduct, he regulates his orders by the legal obligations of the people, and the exigence
of

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of the publick affairs : They are such officers as these, who do honour to their Prince and themselves; and who by winning the people's affections by steady and just measures, will be sure of keeping them in their duty, as much from their own inclinations, as by their power and authority. Tho' I have not the honour of being known to that General, I have the means of being perfectly well inform'd of the truth of what I have said of him, and my subject leads me to do him this justice.

It would be presumption in me to direct the government in any thing, but it is to be hoped, that the legislature will some time or other think it worth while to order (by a publick law) the making of good high roads all through the kingdom, and furnish a supply for the expences of so useful a work, in such a manner as will be consistent with, and conducive to so noble a purpose; since the particular taxes that have been authorized

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thorized and collected for that end, have hitherto proved ineffectual, whether from misapplication, or want of skill, I shall not determine.

In this case, it is reasonable to imagine that the execution of this law should be intrusted to some eminent persons, who have given proof of their disinterestedness, and diligence; and who by their high birth will give lustre to the office, and make it thought as honourable in Great Britain, as it was at Thebes, after the famous Epaminodas had so worthily discharged it in that republic.

We have more good Mathematicians than all Europe besides; and all the arts which depend upon the rules of that noble and extensive science are carried higher with us than any where else, except military architecture, which we have neither opportunity nor occasion to know so well as our neighbours; because

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cause we have but few fortified places, and none at all of a complete regularity.

I know we have some eminent men this way, and that many of the officers of the army are masters of as much of this art as is necessary for the right discharge of their duty in sieges and other occasions of war. But it must be own'd we fall short of the number to be found in many countries upon the continent; the genius however is with us, and were it thought fit to have in time of peace, in imitation of a private institution, a certain number of travelling engineers appointed to stay abroad some years, with instructions to observe and study publick works of all kinds, it is probable our country would gain by it. In the mean time there are many ingenious persons, who have no great business upon their hands, that might be profitably employed in overseeing the making of high-roads; since they would be capable of following any plan

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plan or design given for their sufficiency and regularity.

There is indeed a considerable difference between the soil of Lorraine and that of England; the one is for the most part gravelly and sandy, and the other generally a deep strong clay, which will render it much more difficult and expensive to make high roads in our country than in theirs.

This objection, (if it may be called one) is a strong argument to set about it as soon as possible; the worse the roads are naturally, the more need there is of making artificial good ones; and when proper measures are taken the difficulty will be overcome: Livy (I think) says somewhere, *Quæ naturâ impossibilia videntur, consilio & animo perficiuntur.*

Our ships go to the extremities of the world to furnish our neighbours and ourselves

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ourselves with materials for luxury; and why may not our flat bottom'd boats be imployed in carrying gravel and stones from the sea shore, or other places where there is plenty of both, to those parts which want them, as far as our rivers are navigable? And where that conveniency fails, a land carriage (tho' more expensive) will do the business. But as I do not set up for a projector, nor pretend to give any particular scheme for this great work, I refer the reader to the following treatise, where he will find the methods which others have taken to procure to themselves the happiness they at present enjoy, of travelling in their own country with pleasure and security.

It would be needless to enumerate the advantages of good and well repair'd high-roads; but I shall beg leave only to mention one, which perhaps is not commonly thought of: There is no country in the world where robberies are more frequent

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frequent than in England; and tho' murders are not so often committed here as elsewhere, nevertheless they sometimes happen. The reason in my humble opinion of the frequency of robberies is this; that there are for the most part, close upon each side of our roads, either hedges, bushes, or woods, where the robber lurks, or under cover of which he surprizes the traveller before he can put himself in a posture of defence, was he ever so brave or well arm'd; and after stripping him of his money, and of what else he has of value about him, he can with as much facility make his retreat, as he did the attack; and till such time as the roads are laid open a considerable space on each side, it is to be feared, that neither our good laws, nor the frequent execution of such malefactors, will put an effectual stop to this evil. They indeed are so sensible of this in France, that the new roads they are daily making are all with this precaution in the woody and close parts of that country, which

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which is the reason that of late they seldom hear of those disorders. The roads of Lorraine are not only cleared of hedges and woods for a great way on both sides, but have broad and deep ditches, kept always clean and in good repair, which afford the traveller an absolute security, where he had been formerly in great danger of being robb'd and assassinated.

The roads in France in many provinces are excellent, and they are about making them universally so. The new ones are planted on each side with two rows of trees, which in time will have a noble effect; that from Peronne to Paris will be one continued avenue between those two places, nor will this favour the attacks of highwaymen, since the prospect will be clear between the tops and the roots of the trees, which, as they grow up, will both shelter the traveller from the darting of the sun in summer, and the high winds in the winter season.

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As we surpass all other nations in the general system of agriculture and planting, so it is to be hoped we shall some time or other equal them in our publick roads, which will be much for the honour, as well as the benefit of our country.

The family of Lorraine has produced as many great men as any other in Europe, and its Dukes have been for the most part a series of heroes succeeding each other; nor have its branches in the least degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, but have trod in the same glorious steps.

The Kings of Portugal are descended from a Prince of this Family*, who from the ordinary motive of heroism in those days, went to Spain to fight against the Saracens, who had invaded that

* The Portuguese writers derive their Royal family from the Dukes of the lower Lorraine, of the blood of France, but the best antiquaries have proved it to be of the Mozellane House now subsisting.

kingdom;

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kingdom; which he did with such success, that he had no less than a crown bestowed on him as the reward of his valour, which his posterity enjoy to this day.

But let us come nearer our own times, and consider the figure which the House of Guise, and some other branches of that of Lorraine, made in France little more than a hundred years ago: How many glorious exploits of war were form'd and executed by them in support of that formidable association call'd by the specious name of the Holy league.

Charles Duke of Mayenne, who was at the head of it after the death of his brother the Duke of Guise, was a Prince of such extraordinary endowments, that Henry IV. (great as he was) could never get the better of him but at the expence of his religion; and even after their reconciliation, he shew'd such a superiority over the King in the

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art of war, that he saved his reputation and his army at the siege of Amiens, where he had certainly been cut to pieces, had not the Duke prevented it first by his counsel, and afterwards by his conduct and valour; as is attested by an eminent author, who was an eye witness*.

I mention this one instance among thousands of the like nature, because it was of so great service to Henry; for had he fail'd in retaking Amiens, it had rais'd such a general discontent among his own party, and likewise so contemptible an opinion of his person, that it is hard to say what the consequence would have been; and how far it might have gone to have rekindled the flames of that rebellion, which were not yet well extinguished.

Soon after him appeared the Count d'Harcourt, (grandfather of Prince Charles of Lorraine present master of the horse to his most Christian Majesty,) who by a number of notable victories adorn'd the

* Davila in French Edit. 4. Vol. IV. page 621.

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reign of Louis XIII. and part of that of Louis XIV. The late Prince of Vaudemont*, as he was one of the finest gentlemen of his age, so was he also one of the greatest captains of his time. He was the first who at the head of a few Lorraine regiments came to hands with the Prince of Conde at the battel of Seneff; and his noble and generous behaviour had a great influence on the following Action of that memorable day. But his famous retreat in the year 1696, with thirty thousand men in presence of the French army, consisting of eighty thousand, will render his name immortal; nor did the two Princes his sons, who both died in the late wars of Italy, shew themselves unworthy of such a father.

* He was son of Charles IV. Duke of Lorraine and of the Countess of Cantecroix, and would have succeeded in the Duchy, had it not been prov'd that this Lady's first husband was alive when his father married her. This marriage was annulled by a sentence from Rome; but the Duke, to shew the regard he had for her, married her a second time after her first husband's death.

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Such of the descendents of that family as are now in the service of France, are noted and highly esteemed for their conduct and valour; and are in a fair way of arriving at the highest promotion.

The towns and villages in this country are well built, neat and clean. The people in their apparel and countenances look well, which is immediately observed when you enter it from a neighbouring state. Now this can proceed from no other cause but the gentleness of their government, and the goodness of their Princes.

It is an observation which seldom fails, that men truly brave, give all their application to acts of mercy, justice, and generosity, as soon as the obstacles to the point of glory they had in view are removed; and when conquerors do not observe this conduct, it is to be feared they have been prompted by a principle of covetousness,

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vetousness, and a desire of enriching themselves by the spoils of their neighbours, rather than by that noble ambition which constitutes the passion of a hero; and that their success was owing more to the assistance of others, than to their own merit.

History furnishes us with many examples of men of this kind, who, after great successes, shew'd how little they deserved them: but the Princes of this family have always kept up to their character, steady and firm in adversity, and in the midst of victory and triumph using moderation and humanity. There are few greater examples of this virtue than in the person of Renate II. Duke of Lorraine; upon the death of his cousin Nicolas of Anjou, he acquired an undoubted right to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, &c. and raised an army to recover the possession of it: but Louis XI. (who was ever an enemy to the grandeur of the House of Lorraine) opposed him.

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He marched however to the Alpes, where he found the French in conjunction with the Dukes of Savoy and Burgundy, ready to dispute the passage with him. It was impossible to force them in those mountains; but the frequent skirmishes he had with them, and the retreat he made in their presence quite through the enemy's country, shewed what he was capable of doing, had he been upon equal terms with them. Soon after Charles the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy, invaded Lorraine, which he ravaged with all the circumstances of cruelty and barbarity. Renate having disbanded his army, was not then in a condition to come to a battle with him, but sent him a challenge to decide their quarrel in single combat, which the other did not think fit to accept of, tho' he never was accused of want of courage. Charles having (as he thought) secured Lorraine, by taking possession of its capital, and the other considerable places in it, marched against the Swiss, with whom

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whom he had pick'd a quarrel for a mere trifle.

That honest people failing in their endeavours to pacify him, rais'd an army as fast as they could, and invited the Duke of Lorraine to take the command of it, which he did to so good purpose, that he fought Charles at Morat, and cut his army to pieces, himself narrowly escaping with a few horse.

This victorious and generous Prince reserved to himself no more of the rich booty taken from the enemy, but the Duke of Burgundy's tent, which he kept for the conveniency of lodging; sending back whatever was found in it of any value; but neither this, nor any thing else, could abate the fury of this implacable enemy, who after his return rais'd another army, and invaded Lorraine a second time, carrying fire and sword wherever he came, and laid siege to Nancy,

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which Renate had retaken before he marched to Switzerland.

The cries and lamentations of his subjects soon reached his ears, and hastened him to their relief. He prevailed with the Swiss to assist him with seventeen thousand men, to which he joined some of his own who lay dispersed up and down the frontiers of Alsace.

Upon his approach, the Duke of Burgundy's best officers represented to him, that the enemy's army was more numerous and in better condition than his, which was spent and disheartened by the fatigues of a winter siege; and therefore advised him to retire: but, as if he had been destin'd to destruction, he rejected their counsel, and drew out to receive his adversary, who soon attacked and routed him with a great slaughter. He was kill'd in attempting to pass a small river, within half a mile of the field of battle; his body lay all night where it fell, the person

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person who killed him not knowing who he was.

As soon as it was known, the body, by the Duke of Lorraine's orders, was carried to St. George's church in Nancy, where it was deposited with all the marks of honour that could possibly have been bestowed upon it, had he died in his own palace.

But the humanity of this Prince extended itself likewise to the living, who indeed stood more in need of it; he did all he could to save the miserable remains of the Burgundian army, by putting a stop to the fury of his own people, who were transported with such an opportunity of gratifying their revenge upon an enemy, from whom they had so oft, and so lately, received the most barbarous treatment.

Every body knows that Charles the Hardy, the last Duke of Burgundy, left

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Mary his only child heirefs to his vast provinces, who afterwards marrying Maximilian of Austria, raised that House to that pitch of power and grandeur in which we now see it.

Louis XI. had been thwarted by the Duke of Burgundy all his life, and received many signal affronts from him. Among others he carried him to Liege against his will, to be present at the oppression of a people whom he studied to support; and where he had been massacred, had it not been for the bravery of his Scots * guards; but neither this, nor his being perpetually the subject of the Duke's raillery, was put to the account of the person who had rid him of such an insolent enemy; on the contrary, he opposed the Duke of Lorraine's making any advantage of his victory; and all the fruit this generous Prince reaped from it, was no more than the glory of having

* Philip de Comines.

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destroy'd the man of his time, who as he had the strongest inclinations to do mischief, so he had the greatest power of putting it in execution.

The Dukes and Princes of Lorraine have been as able politicians as renowned warriors; nor does the narrowness of their present circumstances proceed from any fault in their past conduct; their alliances were for the most part great and advantageous; and could their pretensions to some of the most considerable provinces of France be made effectual, there are many sovereign families in Europe that would be less powerful than theirs. What these pretensions are I shall give a short account of, and the reader may judge how far they are just.

Not to go higher, Ferand, or Frederick II. Count of Vaudemont, grandson of John Duke of Lorraine, marry'd Jolland of Anjou daughter of Renate I. King

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King of Naples, Sicily, and of Jerusalem, and Duke of Lorraine; from this marriage descended Renate II. (of whom we have spoke in the preceding Article) who in right of his mother not only united the blood of Lorraine * with that of Anjou, and acquired thereby a right to these kingdoms with the duchy of Lorraine, as we have already mentioned, but also an undoubted one to the duchy of Anjou, and county of Provence, the hereditary patrimonial estate of that family.

We have already spoke of the opposition Louis XI. with his confederates made to Renate's attempt to recover Naples and Sicily; we shall now shew by what methods the same Louis defrauded him of some other valuable parts of this succession; and this I shall do in the words of an eminent French author †.

* Vid. Appendix, in the Article of Frederick Count of Vaudemont.

† Monsieur de Rochefaucourt, traité des intrêts & maximes des Princes & etats souverains, 3 edit. page 164.

Renate

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Renate of Anjou was naturally a weak man, and now so impaired in his judgment, that he passed away his time in mere trifles; his principal amusement was writing whatever came in his way in a fair hand; and the height of his ambition was in being thought to excel in such kind of performances: Louis made some of his agents present him a donation of the duchy of Anjou, and county of Provence in favour of the crown of France, with a defiance to write it in so fine a hand as the original, which provoked him to undertake the work; and when it was done, without considering the tenour of the writing, he put his name to it, and sent it to the King to have his judgment of it: but that Prince placed it immediately in the Chambre de Comtes, or Exchequer at Paris, where it's still to be seen, and is preserved as a sufficient title to these provinces.

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As soon as it came to the Duke of Lorraine's knowledge, he complained loudly of it as a notorious circumvention; but all the satisfaction he could obtain was a promise to give him the duchy of Bar, and a part of Anjou in sovereignty. Charles VIII. who succeeded Louis, refused to ratify this promise, by saying that though he was the King's son, he was heir to the crown, and that it was against the constitution of France to alienate any thing he found himself in possession of at his accession to it. Whether this maxim should hold in opposition to acts of common justice I shall not determine.

The right of the Duke of Lorraine to the duchy of Brittany is founded in the person of Claude of France daughter of Henry II. and Katharine of Medicis, the only descendant of the house of Vallois, who left issue Anne heiress and Duchess of Brittany, was married first to Charles VIII. and next to Louis XII. both Kings of France;

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France; by this last she had a daughter married to Francis I. who succeeded Louis, and she was grandmother to Claude of France, married to Charles III. Duke of Lorraine. Here is a plain right of succession established to a noble province, the Estates of which consented to the marriage of their Sovereign with these two Kings of France, on this express condition, That there should be no alteration in their law, nor in the order of succession in the Ducal Family; and by virtue of the capitulation then made, which contains a great number of other articles, the Estates impose and regulate their taxes to this day.

The personal estate of Katharine of Medicis was considerable, and in the marriage-articles betwixt her and Henry II. it was stipulated, that in default of heirs male, it should go to the females if any existed: the counties of Auvergne and Laurogais, with the barony of Tour in

Au-

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Auvergne, &c. were a part of this succession.

The right to the counties of Blois and Couffi, though it passed through more hands, devolved on the Duke of Lorraine in the person of the same Claude.

Charles III. perceiving the obstinate ambition of his cousin the Duke of Mayenne, and being weary of the expence in supporting the league, entred into a treaty with Henry IV. of France, which, by the means of Sancier on the King's part, and Bassom Pierre on the Duke's, was at last concluded and signed by Henry at Fontainebleau, in December 1596. and by Charles at Nancy the 12th of March in the same year.

The King was so fond of detaching so considerable a member from the league, that he cheerfully obliged himself to make restitution to the Duke of all the estates belonging to his children as heirs of Katharine

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tharine of Medicis their grandmother, without prejudice to whatever right himself or they might pretend to the duchies of Brittany and Anjou, and the counties of Blois and Couffy. But this good King, tho' the Duke's eldest son had married Katharine his only sister, had no more regard to his treaties and promises than his predecessors, as soon as he had got the better of his enemies, which was chiefly brought about by the Duke's leaving them. It was principally upon this account that the Dukes of Lorraine have sided with the enemies of France ever since, till the treaty of Ryfwick, and have had so glorious a share in all the wars undertaken against her in the last age.

The origin of the illustrious House of Lorraine has been a problem among historians and genealogists for a long time; which was disputed by them with great warmth. Some would have it descended in a direct line from Charlemagne, in the person of William III. brother to Godfrey

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of

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of Boulogne, and pretend that as successors of this last, the Dukes have assumed the title of King of Jerusalem; though there be no truth in this account, yet that family has not always been unwilling to have it believed. At a meeting of the Estates of France assembled at Paris on occasion of the death of Henry III. Monsieur de Bassompierre, minister of Lorraine, made that famous speech in which with all the force of eloquence he endeavoured to prove and establish this genealogy; and concluded that they then had a fair opportunity not only of freeing themselves from the domination of a heretick Prince, but by declaring the Duke his master King of France, of making him and his family reparation for the injustice done his ancestors and himself, by so long an usurpation of a crown that so justly belonged to them.

This speech made with so much art, and spoke by one of the ablest men of his time, would have persuaded the States
that

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that there was no other expedient for extricating them out of the difficulty wherein they laboured, had not the ministers of Spain, to prevent their disposing of a crown to which the King their master had an eye, proposed a marriage between the Marquis de Pont the Duke's eldest son, and the Infanta of Spain, daughter of Philip II. and Elizabeth of France, sister of the deceased King *, which met with universal approbation, and would have been immediately concluded, had not the Duke of Mayenne (who had his own views) thwarted the Negotiation.

The other opinion concerning the origin of this family is, that it is descended from Gerard Count and Marquis of Alsace, whose ancestors were renowned warriors, and of great authority in that country in the reign of the Emperor Lotharius I. Gerard lived about the year 1040, and

* She was elder sister to the Duchess of Lorraine, but the Infanta dying she left no posterity.

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was father of Albert of Lorraine, who has continued the succession of Dukes to this day. Some late authors, in order to establish this hypothesis, and overturn that of their adversaries, have laid down these four positions: In the first place, they say that tho' Godfrey of Boulogne had a brother called William, yet he was never married; or if he was, that he left no posterity. Secondly, that tho' he had been the progenitor of the Dukes of Lorraine, he was not descended of Charlemagne in the male line, and consequently his posterity could have no pretensions to it. Thirdly, that these Dukes are actually descended from Gerard of Alsace, and fourthly, that they have a right of precedency over the House of Austria, which is descended of the same Gerard by a younger branch.

They seem indeed to have prov'd these several points pretty clearly by as good arguments as can possibly be brought in a case of this nature. What relates to the

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the House of Austria is settled by no less eminent a hand than the learned Mr. Leibnitz, who, in a treatise published in the year 1711, and received with all the respect and applause due to so celebrated an author, after exposing the romantick and flattering accounts given by Vion, Mareno Pennafiel, and others, of the origin of the Imperial Family, fixes it in a younger branch of the House of Lorraine.

There is ready to be published a general history of Lorraine by Monsieur Calmet, which no doubt will put all these points in so fair a light, as to decide all further disputes about them; but as this work is written in a foreign language, and which most of my ordinary readers either do not understand, or will have no occasion of seeing, I thought it might not be unacceptable, in this short account, to give them some idea of the lustre of this family, and to shew them the merit of the Prince, who has been the author of

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so much good to his subjects, as will be more particularly mentioned in the following sheets: I shall in the mean time furnish the reader with some short notes of the life of the late Duke, which were communicated to me by a person of honour and quality, who has been in his personal service almost since his infancy, and who has been witness to the facts contained in this short narrative; from which it seems highly probable, that had the situation of that Prince's affairs allowed him to have acted in as busy a scene as his two immediate predecessors, he had followed their example, and had at least equalled the most renowned of his ancestors.

Charles V. Duke of Lorraine, his father, was one of the most extraordinary men that perhaps any age or any country ever produced; the bad terms he was in with France, and his inability to defend himself against their daily incroachments, made him go over to the Emperor, who
received

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received him with all the marks of affection and honour due to his birth and merit; he was hardly recovered of a wound he had received at the battel of Seneff, when he arrived at Vienna, where he was presented with a regiment of Cuirassiers, and the same year 1674, he had the command of the cavalry bestowed upon him, and the year after that of the Imperial army upon the death of Montecuculy. In the course of this command he fought and won thirty one battels against the Turks, forced fifty three fortified places, carried three thousand five hundred towns, put to flight five hundred thousand Turks, and reduced the rebels of Hungary which were headed by Count Teckely.

So many victories on the back of one another, made such as were emulous of his glory, attribute these surprizing successes rather to the unskilfulness of the enemy, than to his ability in the art of war. But the event of the campaign

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1689 plainly shewed the malice and injustice of these insinuations.

The city of Mayence was in the hands of the French; and its garrison consisted of fourteen thousand men. The Marquis D'Uxelle (since Mareschal of France) was governor, and Mareschal Duras, who with an army burnt and ravaged the country, by his presence encouraged the besiegers to make an obstinate resistance, and every thing seemed to threaten this great man with the loss of his reputation in this undertaking; but these appearances proved false, and the hopes of his enemies were frustrated; for after making a sufficient breach, and cutting to pieces half of the garrison, he forced the governor to surrender upon capitulation on the eighth of September.

The siege of Bon begun about the first of June by the Elector of Brandenburg, and which Charles forced to surrender immediately upon his arrival, convinced the
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the world that it was equal to him to have to do with Infidels or Christians; and that the success of his undertakings proceeded more from his valour and the justness of his measures, than from any difference of enemies.

But it pleased God to put an end to the course of so glorious a life by an untimely death, which happened at Vetz in Austria on the 18th of April 1690, and in the forty seventh year of his age, as he was going to Vienna to concert the operations of that campaign.

In the year 1678 he married Eleanor Mary of Austria, sister to the Emperor Leopold, and widow of Michael King of Poland; he had of this marriage Leopold, Charles Bishop of Osnabrug, and Olmütz Elector of Treves and Grand Prior of Castille; Ferdinand, who died the second year of his age; ——— a Princess died a few days after her birth; Joseph kill'd at the battel of Cassano in the year 1705.

Francia

Francis Prince and Abbot of Stavelot, and Malmedie Canon of Cologne and Liege; he had also a natural daughter, now a Nun at Ormez.

Leopold the late Duke of Lorraine and Barr, King of Jerusalem, Duke of Montferrat, sovereign Prince of Arche and Charleville, was born at Inspruck the eleventh of September 1679; Francis Taffe Earl of Carlingfort in the kingdom of Ireland, Mareschal of the empire, and Knight of the Golden Fleece, had the care of his education.

This Prince was of so tractable and penetrating a genius, and at the same time of so mild and affable a disposition, that his governor had no difficulty to raise those seeds of Virtue, which were so liberally sown in his nature; for indeed the glorious blood of the invincible father, shew'd itself very early in the temper and inclinations of the son.

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He was as soon as possible initiated and instructed in martial exercises, and the use of arms, and in the year 1695, the sixteenth of his age, he signalized himself at the Battel of Temeswaer, and the year following at the siege of Eperbourg.

His governor seeing him run to that part where the action was hottest, endeavour'd to stop him, by representing to him, that considering the tenderness of his age, all he had to do was to look on and observe things that might be of use to him on other occasions; and that he could not be justified in allowing him to expose himself to needless dangers. But the lively and judicious answer he made is fresh in the memory of many: " Do
" not (said he) pretend to hinder me from
" doing my duty, the loss of my life
" would be less to be regretted, than that
" of my honour, my brothers are capable of filling the vacancy I may happen
" to leave in my family, but nothing can
" wash

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“ wash off the least stain a cowardly be-
“ haviour would bring upon my reputa-
“ tion.

It was natural to judge from the first exploits of this young Prince, that the image and virtue of his father would be reviv'd in him; but the peace of Ryfwick, which was concluded in 1697, deprived him of any further occasions of exerting those military talents, of which he had given so early proofs; for as it gave repose to Europe after a long war, so it likewise restored him to his people.

Though he was deprived of his royal mother, who died in December the same year, from whom he was to have learnt the art of government; nevertheless, he took the administration into his own hands, which he executed with such prudence and wisdom, as would have justly merited her approbation, had she liv'd to have seen it.

Some

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Some time before her death, by the advice of Lilenroodt Minister of Sweden at Ryfwick, ſhe began to think of marrying her ſon to Charlotte Elizabeth daughter of Philip Duke of Orleans; ſhe hoped that in conſideration of that alliance, his Moſt Chriſtian Maſteſty might be brought to ſoften ſome of the conditions of the peace; and for that end ſhe diſpatched the Count of Couvonges to France, in order to ſound the inclinations of that Court, and to endeavour to obtain the King's favour.

This Miniſter went beyond his inſtructions, and very precipitately concluded the marriage without giving his Maſter time to make thoſe demands, which in the courſe of ſo important a negotiation might perhaps have been granted. The Duke however ratified this treaty at Nancy the tenth of December following, and the eſpouſals were ſolemnized at Bar Le Duc, by Francis de Riquet Great Almoner of Lorraine.

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The pleasures of this new marriage were interrupted the next year, the Duke being summoned to the Court of France, to do homage for the duchy of Barr.

This nice question, which Charles IV. had eluded with so much artifice, and which in a learned treatise he proved to amount to no more than a simple acknowledgment, was debated in the council of France, nor could the quality of being nephew to the King excuse the Duke from appearing personally at Versailles, and there performing all the submissions paid by the most servile vassal, which in the medals of the history of that Monarch is inserted among the most considerable occurrences of his reign.

The Emperor, to make him amends for this mortification, by letters patent dated October 1700, bestowed upon him the title of Royal Highness, which all the Princes of Europe acknowledged, and caused

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ed it to be registered in their respective chancellaries, except France, which has not hitherto allowed it. The late Duke having demanded the execution of that article of the treaty of Ryswick, by which an exchange was to be made to Lorraine in lieu of Longivy yielded to France, Monsieur Turgot Intendant of Metz was appointed to confer with the Duke's Ministers, but these conferences have hitherto produced no effect, by reason of the unequal terms proposed on the part of France.

The treaty of partition of the Spanish monarchy made in March 1700, had almost deprived the people of Lorraine of the happiness of being any longer the subjects of so gracious a Sovereign.

Louis XIV, who looked upon that province as an obstacle to new conquests on that side, and as a necessary passage for securing those he had already made, propos'd that his grandson the Duke of Anjou should

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should give the Milaneze in exchange for the Duchies of Lorraine and Barr, and sent Monsieur de Calliere to Nancy to negotiate this important affair: But he found the Duke exceedingly averse to it: The fear of offending the Court of Vienna, the risque of getting a precarious and uncertain crown, in exchange for a fixt hereditary throne, the shame of quitting so famous a name, and abandoning a patrimony possessed by his ancestors for seven hundred years, made him deaf to all the advantages Calliere pointed out to him; but when he considered that the armies of France, which then had nothing else to do, were ready to enforce their Master's arguments, he signed the treaty after adding two conditions to it, which he had reason to believe would render its execution impossible; the first was, that the other potentates of Europe should agree to it, and next that he should possess the Milaneze in an absolute independent sovereignty.

The

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The Marquis de Chattelet was sent to give the Emperor an account of this treaty, which his Imperial Majesty at first hearing was highly offended at; but considering the situation of his nephew's affairs, and the precaution he had observed in making it, he owned he could not blame him.

The death of Charles II. King of Spain, which happened the first of November following, changed the face of affairs, and overturned this treaty; the testament in favour of the Duke of Anjou made the King of France break with all his allies, notwithstanding his Majesty about nine months before had, in conjunction with England and Holland, declared that no determination made by Charles relating to the succession to the crown of Spain, should be of any efficacy.

War therefore was immediately declared, and most of the Princes of Europe

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took

I P R E F A C E.

took arms against France: But the Duke of Lorraine grown wise by the misfortunes his great uncle Charles IV, had brought upon himself and his people, refused to enter in the quarrel; and though he had observed an exact neutrality, yet he could not secure himself from the suspicion of his neighbours, (which the taking of Landau the ninth of September 1701, by Joseph King of the Romans increased) the Court of France imagining, that the nearness of that conquest would determine the Duke to join with the Empire, or at least so far to favour the allies, as to give them a passage through his territories, and even deliver to them Nancy for a place of arms, when they should think fit to invade France from that side.

Upon this apprehension Calliere was sent to signify to the Duke, that for the security of the kingdom, the King his Master was obliged to take possession of his capital city, but without hindering his Highness

P R E F A C E. H

Highness from continuing his residence in it; allowing him (if he pleased) so far the command of his troops, as to give them the word.

This unexpected proposition fretted the Duke extremely, but without making him lose that calmness, which presided in all his actions; he told Calliere, " that he
" had never given the King his Master
" any occasion for interrupting the execution of his treaty, by so signal an act
" of oppression; that he could not accept of the command of troops, which
" were neither his own nor at his disposal; nor declare himself against the Emperor to whom he owed his life and
" fortune.

Calliere thinking he had found a medium for saving appearances, and removing the Duke's scruples, suggested to him to permit himself to be besieged by the troops that were just at hand to second his negotiations: But this was ill received.

“ All Europe, said the Prince, is well informed of the weakness of Nancy, and the insufficiency of its fortifications; It is known, I have but a handful of men for a guard to my person, and I should pass for a fool or a comedian, if I undertook to defend myself against so great and powerful a King as your Master.

He left Nancy next day, the second of December 1702, the Duchess, who expected every hour to be brought to bed, followed him in disorder; they both retired to Luneville, where (after suffering all the inconveniencies of the winter season in an old decayed castle) they have since built a noble and magnificent palace.

However hard it was upon the Duke to see foreign troops in possession of his capital city, the only fortress (such as it was) within his dominions, it must in my humble opinion be owned, that from
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the dictates of common prudence his Most Christian Majesty had reason to take possession of a place exposed to the first invader, and which in the hands of his enemies, who had advanced pretty near it, might be of dangerous consequence to him; and the strict orders he gave his officers to keep their troops under the exactest discipline, to forbear any the least vexation to the people, and the punctual remittances he made for paying them, shew that he had nothing in view but the security of his kingdom.

This storm was hardly blown over when Henry de Biffie, Bishop of Thoul, a man of a turbulent and restless spirit, raised another, though he was son of Monsieur de Biffie, who had gained the love and esteem of the people for his moderation, and the exact discipline under which he kept the French troops during their stay in Lorraine: the Bishop thought himself affronted in being refused an elbow chair, on occasion of a visit he made at

the Court, and to be revenged he took it in his head to attack his Royal Highness in a part of his administration, for which all the world (except this angry Prelate) had highly applauded him.

The Duke being informed that the standing body of the laws of his country was in many points faulty and defective, thought it an essential part of his duty to correct and amend it; which he set about by the advice and assistance of the most reputable and ablest lawyers within his dominions; the Bishop gave it out that there were among these new constitutions, some that encroached upon and restrained the discipline and liberties of the Church; the Court of Rome was fond of receiving complaints of this nature from a quarter where its jurisdiction was pretty much disregarded, therefore applauded the zeal of the informer, and immediately thundered its excommunications against the persons employed to revise and correct the ancient Code of the civil and criminal law

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law of Lorraine, threatening the judges, who should pretend to make the new laws the rule of their decisions, with the same punishment.

There was a stop put to the consequences of this rash and severe censure, by an act of appeal to a future council dated the eighth of November 1703; nevertheless the Duke seemed uneasy while he was at variance with the Pope, and therefore sent Monsieur de Lenoncourt, and the Abbot of Nais to Rome to try if it was possible to soften the Holy Father into more mild and equitable sentiments; they were pretty favourably heard at their first audience, but there were under-hand instruments who broke their measures, whereupon they were dismissed in an angry manner.

The thunder of the Vatican was immediately thrown after them for undertaking such a negotiation, but it did not overtake them till they had got on this side of the Alpes.

In the mean time the election of Prince Charles to the Coadjutorship of Treves obliged the Duke his brother to renew the negotiations, and endeavour to terminate the affair in an amicable manner; foreseeing that the Pope would never grant the bulls, while things remained as they were; and indeed he judged right, for his Holiness obstinately refused to do any thing in favour of the House of Lorraine, without a formal and solemn revocation of the new body of laws, which the Duke from his great affection to his brother, and his ardent desire of seeing him honourably and advantageously settled, complied with, as appears from his edict in the year 1711. But notwithstanding, in the course of some years, he perfected by degrees, what he was hinder'd from doing all at once; and the laws of Lorraine may now justly be deemed as equitable and expeditious as any in Europe.

The

PREFACE lviii

The quality of Duke of Montferrat, and Sovereign Prince of Arches and Charleville, added to his Royal Highness's titles, put us in mind of the right acquir'd by him to these dominions in the person of his mother, after the death of Ferdinand Charles, Duke of Mantua, which happened the fifth of July 1708. None can contest the justice of his pretensions, the Emperor and the Republick of Venice acknowledged them; in the mean time the right heir is excluded, Montferrat being yielded to the Duke of Savoy, now King of Sardinia, and Arches and Charleville are annexed to the crown of France by an act of the Parliament of Paris, the twenty first of August 1708, seventeen days after the late Duke of Lorraine had taken possession of them by his Plenipotentiary the Marquis de Chattelet, and Bouchier his Attorney General.

Of fourteen children which his late Royal Highness had from his marriage with Elizabeth

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Elizabeth of Orleans, there remain only four alive, Francis III. the present Duke, a young Prince of great endowments, born the eighth of September 1708. Charles born the twelfth of December 1712. Elizabeth Princess of Lorraine, born the fifteenth of October 1711, and Charlotte born the fourth of May 1714.

The whole tenour of Leopold's reign has been peaceable, kind, and mild, nor was there ever a Prince's death more universally, nor more unfeignedly lamented than his, which happened the tenth of March last in the fiftieth Year of his age; for which his unfortunate subjects are now in tears.

And of the Parliament of Paris, the first of August 1708, seventeen days after the late Duke of Lorraine had taken possession of them by his Proclamation; his Majesty del Charrier, and Bonaparte his Attorney General, having by this way separated in any as mentioned. Of fourteen children which his late Royal Highness had from his marriage with Elizabeth

A Dis

A
DISSERTATION
UPON THE
HIGH-ROADS,
Lately made in the
DUTCHY and TERRITORIES
OF
LORRAINE.

THE making, repairing and up-
holding of high-roads, ought to
be one of the principal objects
of the attention of sovereign powers:
the security and conveniency of them
make a part of the publick right. The
best govern'd Common-wealths, and the
most flourishing Monarchies, have look'd
upon it as an essential part of their duty,

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to procure to their people, to their armies, to strangers, and to passengers, the conveniency of travelling through easy and well kept roads; and from hence have been undertaken those incredible and stupendious works of the Romans; the remains of which are still to be seen in many parts of that vast Empire we so justly admire for the aqueducts, bridges, roads, and causeways which they have made.

The Grecians and Romans, who were the most understanding, the most polite, and of the best taste of any people we know, did not think they undervalued the majesty of their gods, when they assigned them the keeping and protection of their high-roads.

Mercury, Apollo, Diana, Hercules, Bacchus, and Fortune presided over them, they called them Gods of the high-roads, or **DII VIALES**.

They

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 3

They placed their statues at certain distances, where the travellers paid them publick worship, and implored their assistance; and on the basis of these images were often written the names of the neighbouring towns, for the traveller's instruction.

Among the statues of these divinities, they often placed those of great men, who had distinguished themselves by their valour, eloquence, or learning; these they placed like the TERMINI, or the Gods of marches and limits, on bases, or pedestals, which were inscrib'd with their names, and epigrams in honour of them. * Their tombs and burying-places were also on the sides of the high-roads; from whence we have these expressions, so much in use among epitaph writers: STA VIATOR, SISTE GRADUM, OR, HEU VIATOR, PAULISPER CONSISTE; or this other, TU QUISQUIS ES, QUI HAC TRAN-

* Bergier grands chemins de l'empire. lib. 4. chap. 43.
618,

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SIS, SI PIUS ES, QUÆSO A ME OCULOS
AVERTE.

The Christian Religion has reformed these superstitious customs, and retaining only whatever heretofore was good and laudible, instead of profane statues, has erected crosses and chapels, with the images of our Lord and Saviour, of the blessed Virgin, or of holy men, and sometimes the tombs and monuments of martyrs, saints, and eminent men, before there were any places set apart for public burial.

In honour of the TERMINI, and other Deities, whose statues were put upon the high-roads, the ancients used to gather together great heaps of stones at the foot of these images; the custom is very ancient, as may be seen in the Proverbs of Solomon, *Prov. xxvi. 8.* The Jewish doctors call these heaps in their language *Marcolin*, that is a heap, in honour of Mercury; the original text of Solomon

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 5

is not so plain; and the most learned interpreters do not agree that that was the meaning of the sacred writer; but there's no doubt St. Jerome understood it so, and that he has followed in that the opinion of the most ancient and most learned of the Hebrew Doctors that went before him; and the comparison seems very just, a fool and a piece of stone or wood are equally incapable of deserving honour.

This was in use among the Grecians, from the time we can have any knowledge of them; Homer speaks of Mercury's heap ^b, which his interpreters say, can be no other but a heap of stones thrown at the foot of the statue of that God plac'd on the high-road.

There have been different reasons assign'd for this custom; some say, it was done simply in honour of the Deity, others, to make it the more conspicuous, that the

^b Homer Odyss. xi. V. 11. Eustath. & Dydim. *ibid.*
gravel.

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traveller might not overlook it, and pass
by without paying his devotion to it;
but others, without seeking any such my-
sterious and superstitious meaning, think
it proceeded from the passenger's looking
on it as a duty incumbent upon him to
clear the road of loose stones, and other
incumbrances, and therefore threw them
in a heap on the sides of the road: but
some there are who have recourse to a
fabulous history of what happened in
heaven, when Mercury was accus'd be-
fore the assembly of the Gods, for the
murder of Argos, each of the Gods
threw a white stone at his feet, thereby
to pronounce him guiltless; and the pas-
sengers likewise, to merit his favours as
far as was possible for them, join'd with
the Gods in declaring him innocent.

There are traces of this ancient cus-
tom still to be seen in the Indies, in Ara-
bia among the Mahometans, in Spain,
Italy, and most of the other countries of
Europe; where some practice it by cus-
tom

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 3

tom, because they see others do it; others, out of devotion, throw stones at the foot of crosses, thinking thereby to ease the departed souls of the persons for whose sakes they have been erected.

Bergier, in his excellent treatise upon the high-roads of the empire, thinks, that the name SAXANUS, which they gave to Hercules in some inscriptions, came from these heaps of stones we have been speaking of; or that in his travels he had overturned rocks, and levell'd mountains, in order to make them passable. I shall not trouble the reader with what the learned say concerning this Hercules Saxanus, but only observe, that some years ago there was found at Noroy in this country, near to Pont à Mousson, an antique altar, with this inscription.

F

M. O. I.

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L. O. M.

ETHER

CULI SAXA

SACRUM

P. TALPIDIUS.

CLEMENS.

LEG. VIII. AUG.

CUM MIL. LEG. EJUS.

V. S. LL. M.

I am of opinion this inscription related only to the stone quarry of Noroy, near which this altar was found, and I understand Hercules Saxa, or Saxanus, to have been the tutelary God of that quarry, where the soldiers of the 8th legion, with their leader Talpidius Clemens, had been employ'd to work for a long time; perhaps for the arches of the aqueduct of Jouy, or for the publick buildings of the city of Metz.

Among the medals struck in honour of his Royal Highness Leopold the late Duke,

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Duke, we have a medaillon, on the reverse of which is represented a Hercules overturning a rock, with this inscription, *VITA PROSPICIT ATQUE VIA*. This piece was struck in 1705, on occasion of the bridge and causeway made in the middle of the wood of Hels, which join two hills till then thought almost impassable; a place formerly dangerous for robberies and murders, and inconvenient for travellers, by reason of the difficulty of the ascent, and the sharpness of the rocks.

The most early account of high-ways that I have met with in any profane historian, is given us by Herodotus in his history of Cheopis King of Egypt, son and successor to Rampfinitus^c; this was the Prince who built the biggest of the pyramids, which are still to be seen in that country; a hundred thousand men were imploy'd in the work for ten years together; they wrought by ten

^c Herodot. L. 2.

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thousand at a time, relieving one another every three months: for the conveniency of carrying stones, and other materials, they made a road, which appear'd as bold an undertaking as the pyramid it self; it was six hundred and twenty five geometrical paces in length, ten ells broad, and eight high: where the ground was lowest, the sides of it were overcast with hewen stone, on which were cut the figures of their hieroglyphick animals. They took up ten years in making this road, with the vaults under the rising ground where the pyramid stands. This was before we have any account of the Greek Divinities, and consequently before their earliest history.

Hercules is perhaps the first of the Heathen Gods or Heroes, who made it his business to advance the publick good, first in clearing the high-roads of murderers and robbers, and then in mending them, by overthrowing rocks, and leveling mountains that made them difficult.

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 11

cult, dangerous and impassable. Dionys. Halicarnass. ⁴, says, he was the greatest and most famous captain of his time; that with his army he overran all the countries surrounded with the Ocean, and destroyed such tyrants as oppressed their people; he restrained the violence of such cities as had invaded their weaker neighbours, and had put to death the strangers that came within their territories. He every where set up wise and moderate Princes, and formed republics under wholesome and excellent laws, and apply'd himself to render men sociable and humane to one another. He built cities in desolate and uninhabited places, chang'd the course of such rivers as overflowed the countries they passed through, and confined them in their proper channels. He opened passages formerly unknown, to render commerce and the intercourse of trade more free by sea and land.

⁴ Dionys. Halicarnass. antiq. Rom. l. 1.

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Servius *, and after him Isidore † of Seville, has advanced, that the Carthaginians were the first that undertook to make publick roads, and pave them, for the conveniency of travellers; their opinion is founded on these verses of Virgil.

Jamq; ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi

Imminet, adversasque aspectat desuper arces.

Miratur molem Æneas, magalia quondam

Miratur portas, strepitumque, & strata viarum.

Æneas arriving at Carthage, admires the gates, the publick edifices, the noise of the crowd, and the paved streets: STRATA VIARUM. But the discerning reader will judge what regard is to be had to the citation of a poet, in a place of this nature, who (however eminent he

* In Æneid. L. 1. † Lib. 9. Origin.

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 13

was) is look'd upon as little observant of the truth that an historian is oblig'd to in all that relates to the adventures of Æneas and his journey to Carthage, where he was to meet with a very extraordinary reception from Dido, who founded that city. The poet had it more in view to embellish his work with pompous and elegant descriptions of the places his hero goes through, than to instruct his reader with the exact history of their situation. I know of no author who makes any mention of the highways of the Carthaginians; the empire of that people extended it self more by sea than land, and navigation was their chief study.

The measures which Hannibal took to open himself a passage thro' the Alpes, were indeed very extraordinary, but no proof of his countrymens performances. We our selves every day break down

* Plut. in Annibal.

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rocks for ordinary purposes, by means of fire and water; the fire burns them, and the water makes them split and fly; and instead of water, Hannibal was obliged to make use of vinegar, or of that mixture of wine and water which was the common draught of the soldiers, of which, for so long a march through mountainous, rocky and dry places, he must have had an immense store.

Long before Carthage, Dido, or *Aeneas*, liv'd Queen *Semiramis*, whose reign began in the year of the world 2789, whereas the foundation of Carthage was but in 3136; this famous Queen, almost cotemporary with *Hercules* the son of *Alcmena*, whose birth happen'd in 2757, began to make publick roads in Asia, before *Hercules* had made any in Europe or Africk: *Diodore* the Sicilian says, that some remains of the high-ways which that great Princess had made were to be seen in his days.

King

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 19

King Solomon, who began to reign in 2989, and who dedicated the temple in 3000, among the other marks of his grandeur and magnificence, did not forget that of publick high-ways; he made noble and well paved causeways from the extremities of his dominions, which were of great extent, to Jerusalem his capital city, as well for the conveniency of strangers, who came from all parts to worship the Lord, and admire the wisdom of that great Prince, as to shew his power and grandeur.

The Jewish doctors tell us, that the Sanhedrim, or Senate of that nation, appointed officers, who had the charge and inspection over all the high-roads of Judea, for the conveniency of that vast multitude of people who resorted to their public feasts at Jerusalem. They tell us at the same time, that there was great care taken of the roads that led to the cities of refuge, for facilitating the retreat of such

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as were under a necessity of flying thither. This was expressly recommended by Moses^b, which is the most ancient text to be found any where to this purpose.

Isaiah, who lived in the reign of Achaz about the year of the world 3280, prophesying the return of the children of Israel from the Babylonish captivity, alludes often to the custom, then so common, of preparing the roads when their Kings went to the field, in these words, which are not perhaps rightly understood by ordinary readers; ¹ "The voice of him
" that crieth in the wilderness, prepare ye
" the way of the Lord; make strait in the
" desert a way for our God." And again,
" ^a I will make all my mountains a way,
" and my high-ways shall be exalted." And in another place: ¹ "Ye people of a
" strange land, prepare a way for my peo-
" ple, and remove the stones out of them." There are many other texts of Scripture

^a Deut. xix. 3.

^b Ibid. xlix. v. 11.

¹ Isaiah xl. 3, 4.

¹ Ibid. lxii. v. 10.

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 17

to the same purpose, which plainly shew it was the custom to clear and repair the high-roads where their Kings undertook a journey of pleasure, or any military expedition.

Neither the Grecian republicks, whose names are at this day so famous, such as Athens, Lacedemon, Thebes, Corinth, &c. Nor the Kings of Argos, Epirus, Macedon, nor Alexander the Great himself, nor the Kings his successors, have acquired any great reputation this way. It is true, they had their Gods and Goddesses, who were guardians of the high-roads, but they were neither at the pains nor expences in making any, nor in the least degree comparable to the Romans in this particular: What we find related of them in history concerning high-roads, must be understood of their streets and avenues to their towns and cities, and not any thing like these noble works and extensive high-roads of the Romans.

Some

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Some travellers and Spanish historians tell us of wonders in this kind done by the Chinese and Mexicans; but as my principal design is to speak of the high-roads in Lorraine, I shall confine myself to such as the Romans made formerly in that country, as introductory to my account of those since made by his late Royal Highness, not inferior for beauty and conveniency to any that were ever undertaken.

As the Roman empire was without doubt the noblest, most extensive, and best governed of any we know of, so there never was any who carried the magnificence and grandeur of their high-roads and publick works to such a pitch as they did; and some who seem to judge right of them in other things, do not stick to put these works among the most glorious monuments of their power.

The

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 19

The first and greatest magistrates of the Roman republick, before it assumed the form of a monarchy, thought it to their honour, and an essential part of their duty, to make, repair, and preserve their bridges, aqueducts, causeways and high-roads^m. The charge of them was first given to the Censors, afterwards to the Consuls and Tribunes of the people; these great men thought there was nothing could contribute more to perpetuate their memory than the making some publick high-way, from whence we have these names so famous in history; as VIA APPIA, FLAMINIA, CLAUDIA, CASSIA, AURELIA, DOMITIA, TRAJANA, &c. denominations taken from their authors, and which will last as long as the world itself, and transmit to all ages the remembrance of their families and employments.

After the Romans had extended their conquests to distant provinces, they named

^m Bergier des grands chem. l. 1. c. 7. 10. 11.

particular

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particular magistrates for the execution of these works in the countries they had subdued; they chose them out of the first families of Rome, they were like what we call in France Grandvoyers, that is, surveyors or overseers of the high-ways. The names of many of them are to be seen in the collection of Greek and Latin inscriptions made by Gruter. In fine, the Roman empire arriving at the highest pitch of its grandeur and glory, thought it was doing honour to Augustus himself, to declare him *PRÆFECTUS VIARUM*, or intendant of the high-roads of the empire; that Prince did not disdain the employment, but entered upon it with chearfulness. He erected in the center of Rome, then the capital of the world, the gilded pillar called *Milliarium*, to which all the roads of that vast empire approached as to their center, and from which the distances of all places were computed; at the distance of a thousand paces, or one mile,

* Dion. Cassius, l. 45.

were

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were stone pillars, on which the distances of every place from Rome was engraved; and from this come the expressions, *ad primum, secundum, tertium, milliare, &c.*

Augustus and the following Emperors continued the foresaid magistrates for keeping up, repairing and embellishing the high-roads; and to do them honour, bestowed upon them the privilege of being attended by two lictors.

At Lacedemon, according to * Herodotus, the Kings themselves were intrusted with the inspection of the high-ways. At † Thebes they gave that commission to the famous Epaminondas¹, with a design to mortify and affront him, it being at that time not thought very honourable in their republick. But he with a spirit of greatness peculiar to himself, told them that he would let them see by his conduct,

* Herodot. l. 8.

† Valer. Maxim. l. 7. c. 5. Extran.

¹ Plutarch. præcept. gerend. reip. c. 37.

that

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that the office would shew the merit of the man, and the man the dignity and importance of the office; he was indeed as good as his word, for he discharged his duty so worthily, that the greatest men in Thebes thought it for their honour to solicit and obtain it. In France the King is immediately vested with the supreme authority and superintendence of the high-ways; and the Grandvoyers named by his Majesty, are but his lieutenants, and do their office in his name and by his authority.

The Dukes of Lorraine of the family now reigning, have always bore the title and quality of *Marchis*, as being Grandvoyers of the empire, on this side of the Rhine, and have had the safeguard and protection of the high-ways intrusted to them, in all the country between the Rhine and the Meuse, and from the borders of Germany to the confines of the

Loiseau des Seigneuries.

French

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 23

French monarchy; which appears plainly, by a charter of confirmation granted to Ferrand III. in the year 1258, by Alphon-
sus King of Spain, who was chosen Em-
peror of Germany; in testimony of which
he received from that Prince a banner,
on which were writ these words: *Quod
debes habere custodias publicarum stratarum
in dicto Ducatu, tam per terram, quam per
aquam*: And it is in this quality of *Marchis*
they have always enjoyed the right of mark-
ing out the field of battel, and judging the
case of duels between the nobility and gen-
try in the whole extent between the Rhine
and the Meuse. And it is for the same
reason, that in all their coin we see a
naked sword as a mark of their jurisdic-
tion.

But it is a question, whether that dig-
nity infers an obligation to repair and pre-
serve the high-roads within their jurisdic-
tion; I think not; none of our ancient

f Vide Vignier.

G

Dukes

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Dukes having ever done it; and the thing itself would have been next to impossible in a country so divided for many ages by a number of little Sovereigns, who raised themselves on the ruins of the House of Charlemagne, and by the civil wars arising from the contradictory investitures, given by the several competitors for the Imperial Dignity. Besides that the Bishops of Treves, Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, and many Abbess and Abbeesses had distinguished themselves by a spirit of contention in stirring up their vassals to take up arms on the least occasion, where their interest or their passion was concerned; these circumstances rendered the arts of peace quite out of season.

How was it possible for the Dukes of Lorraine to think of embellishing their towns, improving their country, or repairing their high-ways at a time they were not sure of a minute's peace?

It

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It was all they could do, in the midst of these distractions and confusions, to secure themselves from invasions from abroad, and rebellions at home: So it is not to be wondered at, if for some ages we find so few accounts of the exercise of the dignity of *Marchis*.

But these petty sovereignties disappeared insensibly; the duchy of Bar came to the House of Lorraine, as did the counties of Blamont, Luneville, and Sarwerden, &c. the titles of Counts of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun were suppressed, and many other little lordships, usurped by persons who had no right to them, were brought under the yoke.

It was then that our Dukes, free from the expences and toils of war, thought of adorning and fortifying their towns, by building publick edifices for the administration of justice and other offices of government, castles, palaces, gates, bridges,

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causeways, churches, &c. The Dukes Renate the second and Anthony rebuilt and enlarged the ducal palace, and fortified the old town of Nancy. Duke Henry, called the Good, continued these works, and brought them to perfection,

The bridges of Marville and Pont-à-Mousson are owing to the care and magnificence of the great Duke Charles; this Prince, whose reign was long and peaceable, raised an incredible number of fine edifices: his son Duke Henry shewed his liberality and good taste in the publick works carried on by his direction.

The reign of Leopold the late Duke, more peaceable, happy and absolute than that of any of his predecessors, has been distinguished by noble and useful undertakings, formed and executed by his orders. The ducal palaces of Luneville and Malgrange and Nancy, all new built, are so many monuments of his magnificence. The road from Nancy to Luneville, the
bridge

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bridge and raised road in the wood of Heis, made in the beginning of his reign, were but preludes to what he afterwards performed. In less than three years time there were high-roads made in Lorraine, exceeding the length of six hundred thousand rood of French Measure *, more than four hundred bridges, of which twelve were upon considerable rivers; and all this performed by the country people at his Royal Highness's charge, without occasioning the least interruption or impediment to the cultivation of the ground, or their other ordinary occupations; such was the precaution of not summoning them to work, but at proper seasons, and in the intervals of their other affairs.

In this prodigious number of high-roads, how many marshes were drained, rocks overturned and broke down? How many hills levelled, bogs filled up, and

* At two thousand rood to the small French league, and two English miles to the league, the length of the roads made in Lorraine is six hundred English miles.

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woods cut down? How many bushes and thickets were grubbed and plucked up? How many wooden bridges were thrown over moist and marshy places, where it was necessary to leave a passage for the water? And it will scarcely be believed that all this has hitherto cost his Royal Highness no more than four hundred thousand Lorraine livres*. Such resources does a Prince find in the affection of a willing, obedient and laborious people, and in the fidelity of skilfull and experienced officers,

The Romans made their high-roads and causeways of different kinds with respect to height, breadth, and materials; They commonly made use of three layers of different matter; the first was of coarse gravel mixt with pebble and small stones, then a layer of earth and rubbish of any kind; and the last was a hard and solid pavement, founded upon rough stones laid

* About 15000. lib. sterl.

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 29

as evenly as their figures would allow, with a liquid strong cement which bound them, and made them all one hard mass, not to be shaken with the weight and pressure of the carriages and engines of war; and in many places they laid over all a finer gravel cemented with round smooth stones, which made their carriages run smoother, and was easier for horse and foot.

The pavement was of stone or marble, according as the country afforded either; the stones sometimes bigger and sometimes less; the regularity of their figures were not minded; some were square, some of five angles, and others of six^t. Monsieur Frabretty, in his explanation of Trajan's pillar at Rome, says these stones were always of six angles, except such as were upon the borders; but we see the contrary in the Roman roads still preserved in Italy, where there are some stones two feet long,

^t Vide Bernard de Montfaucon, *Antiq. expliq.* part. 2. c. 4. l. 1.

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others shorter, the least of them are no less than a foot in breadth, and every one a foot thick; and notwithstanding the irregularity of their figures, they are so well joined, that in many places you cannot put the point of a knife between them.

In Italy the breadth of the roads is something less than fifteen feet, which is just necessary to allow two waggons to pass each other, or go a-breast; in Gaul and Belgia they are something broader, and it is likely this difference may have proceeded from hence, that the roads in Italy were made two thousand years ago: Before the Republick arrived at its height of greatness the roads were less frequented, and the carriages smaller than what they afterwards made use of; they did not however think fit to alter them, but left them as they were.

In the VIA APPIA, the most intire of any of them, there are here and there long spaces where the pavement is as smooth

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smooth as glass, which in rainy weather makes the horses slip, and renders it at all times dangerous to go fast; antiquaries are silent on this difference.

When the Romans were to begin a new high-road^a, they drew two parallel lines or furrows the whole length they intended the way should reach; these furrows were drawn in a strait line through fields, marshes, woods, and high and low grounds, without turning to the right or left, to avoid inconveniencies if they could be overcome; then they dug the space between the two lines, till they came to a firm bottom; in this void they threw stones, earth, or such other rubbish as the place afforded, or could be carried to it; which they rolled over with a large cylinder of stone or wood, to make the place filled up firm and solid, so as to be fit for supporting and receiving the pavement in the manner abovementioned.

^a Bergier grands chem. l. 2. c. 17.

* This

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This disposition Statius very well describes in these verses:

*His primus labor inchoare sulcos,
Et rescindere limites, & alto
Egesta penitus cavare terras:
Mox haustas aliter replere fossas,
Et summo gremium parare dorso,
Ne nutent sola, ne maligna sedes
Et pressis dubium cubile saxis.*

When the road ran through an equal and plain country they raised it no higher than the adjacent ground, and then they laid on their pavement of gravel, stone and cement; but in low and marshy places they raised them to a level with the highest part, to prevent overflowing and inundations; and it is observable they did not always pave the roads with stones; but where the foundation was good and solid, if stones were scarce and of a long and distant carriage, they thought gravel mixt with pebbles and cement sufficient, and much more commodious for their carriages and travellers. In

^a Statius Papinius, Silvar. iv. 3. in via Domitiana, v. 40. &c.

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In Belgick Gaul, where the country was low and dirty, they raised their roads fifteen, sometimes twenty feet higher than the ground, which they supported with walls to secure them from bulging and breaking out; and so studious were this brave people to shew their grandeur and majesty in all they did, especially in their high-roads, that to keep them straight they cut through rocks and mountains, under which the traveller found himself, as under a large vault, beautifully overlaid with hewn stone, as is still to be seen in the grotto of Pouzole, in the steep hill between that place and Naples. There was likewise a road that pierced the hill on which stood the capital at Rome⁷. In many places there were on the sides of the roads a border and bank two feet broad, and raised a foot and a half for the conveniency of such as walked a foot, or perhaps for mounting their horses, the

⁷ Montfaucon Antiq. Tom. IV. part 2. p. 181.

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use of stirrups not being then known. It was long before the Romans began to pave their high-roads in Italy, neither the Kings of Rome nor the first Consuls ever thought of it.

Appius Claudius (called the Blind) * was the first who in the year 442, from the foundation of the city, begun it, and made that noble road, called this day after him, VIA APPIA, and which is still to be seen, being the most entire of all; it led from the Porta Capena to Capoua.

Flaminius some time after followed his example, and the thing was found to be of so much use and advantage, that several great men strove to surpass each other in the like undertakings.

Augustus carried it so high that he stretched a road from Rome Westward to Hercules's pillars, and Eastward to the

* Jul. Frontin. l. 1. de aqueductibus.

Euphrates,

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Euphrates, and to the very bounds of the empire.

It was Agrippa son-in-law to this Emperor, who had the charge of making the roads in Gaul; * he acquitted himself with such diligence and expedition, that it is hardly conceivable how one man could form a project of such difficulty with any hopes of success; the city of Lions was as it were the center of all these roads, from whence Agrippa stretched them to all the provinces of Gaul; from the Alpes to the Ocean and the Pyrenées, and from the Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea.

But there were four principal ones, the first went from Lions through the mountains of Auvergne to the further end of Guyenne; the second along the Rhine to Coblentz, where that river joins the Meuse at its opening into the Ocean; the third passed through Burgundy, Champagne and

* Strabo, lib. 3, & 4.

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Piccardy to the sea now called the Channel; and the fourth run along the Mediterranean from Marseilles to Narbonne, even to the Pyrenean mountains.

The second and third of these roads were much longer than the other two, and divided Belgia. 'Tis certain, other Emperors who liv'd and travell'd much in Gaul, made other roads, since we see so many remains of them to this day. For example, we see there were high-roads that run from Langres to Thoul, from Thoul to Metz, from Rheims to Chalons upon the Marne, from Chalons to Metz, from Metz to Strasbourg, from Metz to Treves, from thence to Mayence, and other places.

Since many of these roads run through Lorraine, we shall enter upon a more particular detail of them. The road from Rheims to Metz pass'd through Chalons, Fains, Nais, Lignie, Void, Thoul, Scarponne, and Metz. Another mentioned in
the

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 37

the itineraries, was by Axvena, now called St. Menchoud, Verdun, *Fines Iblidurum*; that from Metz to Strasbourg by Caramusca, perhaps Chocourt near Delmes; Ricciaco, probably Rich, within three or four leagues of Dieuse, (*Decempagi*) Bichpin, Albechau, Sarbourg (*Pons-Saravi*) Saverne, Strasbourg.

That from Mayence to Treves by Binch, Denffen, Baldenau, Numega, Treves; from Rheimes to Cologne by Noviamagus, Mosé, Meduanto, Mincerica, Cologne; from Treves to Strasbourg, by Baudobrica, Saliffon, Bing, Mayence, Brocomagus, Noviomagus, (Spire) Strasbourg; another from Treves to Cologne by Bede, Ansave, Egorige, Marco-mage, Belgic, Tolviac, Cologne; from Rheims to Treves by Vungum Vicum, (Juinville) Attigny, Mouzon, *Sepoissum* (now Ivoy) *Orolaunum-vicum*, (Arlon) *Anderannale-vicum* (Epternach) Treves. We find in the life of St. Martin, that that holy man had travell'd that road going to Treves.

Of

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Of all the ancient roads, that from Langres to Thoul, and from Thoul to Metz, is best known to us, and in it remain the most visible marks of the Roman grandeur.

From Langres to la Marche, from la Marche to Neufchâteau, and from Neufchâteau to Thoul, you see from distance to distance great pieces of that ancient road still entire. Near la Marche we find four great roads, or rather two which cut one another; and here is a piece of antiquity call'd Aureille Maison, or Aurelli Domus, probably a Roman camp; for they say there were formerly fifteen wells dug round it at equal distances, the ground being dry and sandy; there are but three of them now remaining. From Thoul the road went to Libdo, Jaillon, Dieu le Wart, or Charpagne, (anciently Scarpone) then to the aqueduct of Jouy, and at length to Metz.

They

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They tell us of a military road from Chalons upon the Marne to Basle by Meuvy, where the Meuse has its source, la Marthe, Montureux, Fontenoy, Buffan and Faucogney.

The road from Langres to Thoul had one of its branches by Mirecourt, and the country of Vaudemont; upon the Moselle there is to be seen a road from Metz to Remiremont, and Buffan by Bayon, Hadigni, Châtel, Epinal, Remiremont, l'Etrée and Buffan.

At Royaumez, between Mesnil la Tour and Minorville, we find two ancient roads which cut one another in that place^b, one of which goes from Thoul to the Ardennes, the other towards Scarpone. In the ancient records of this country there is mention made of roads which lead to the salt pits of Dieuze, of Vic and of Marfal; they came hither

^b Benoit hist. de Thoul. 27.

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from Switzerland, Alsace, the Palatinate,
Luxenburg, from the duchy of Barr,
and the three Bishopricks, to make their
provision of salt. In the records of Bou-
zonville there is mention made of the
road of Sauniers to Remich and Dieuze,
and in those of the foundation of the
abbacy of Senones, * they speak of this
road of Sauniers that led to Alsace; most
of these roads were made on rising
grounds, because at that time the country
was marshy; but by draining and making
way for the waters through levels, which
formed themselves into lakes and rivu-
lets, it is much changed since that time.

The castles which were formerly in this
country were situated upon rivers, narrow
passes, or high grounds, which com-
manded the military roads we have al-
ready mention'd. Let us follow for ex-
ample the Meuse for its source, and we
shall find Bourmont, Neufchâteau, Sou-
losse, Vancouleurs, Foug, Sorcy, Void,

* Via Salinatorum.

Com-

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 41

Commercy, Sampigny, Koeurs, St. Mihiel, Verdun, &c. upon the Moselle, the castle of *Habendum* or St. Romarick, Arches, Epinal, Châtel, Charmes, Bayon, Tounoy, Affrick, Chaligny, Thoul, Gondreville, Liverdun; the castles of Avantgarde, Frouart, and that of Condé, all three at the confluence of the Meurthe and the Moselle: Further, if we follow this last river, we find the castles of Belleville, Dieulewart, the ancient town of Scarppone, Moufon, St. Blaise, Preny, Ars, Jouy, and Metz.

Upon the Ornez we have Gran, Gondrecourt, Nas, Ligny, Bar le Duc and Faines: upon the Meurthe, the castle of Clermont [near St. Diey, Haute-Pierre near Moyen, Moutier, Beau-regard near Raon-l'etape, Baccarat, Deneuvre, Lunville, Varengeville, Nancy, Lay, and Condé.

The Royal Houses of the Kings of France, of the first and second generations,

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rations, and the ancient Roman camps were likewise situated on the military roads, and the great rivers; for instance, upon the Mozelle, we have the Royal Houses of Remiremont, and a little to one side Champ upon the Vologne, Flavigny, Gondreville, and Vendiers. On the Meuse, Tusey, Void, Sauvoy, Commercy and Savoniers; Morlay was upon the Saux, Vicherey and Estrepey upon the road from Thoul to Neufchâteau, and Pierrefitte in the Barrois was upon the river of Aire.

Vaudemont, which no doubt was a Roman camp, is upon the road of Mirecourt. Faines, Nas, and Gran upon the Ornez, have also been Roman camps; as were Frumenteuze, Souloffe and Coufroy upon the Meuse.

Upon the Mozelle we see Africk near Richarménil and Ludre now in rubbish a little above Gondreville: between the villages of Aingerey and Sexez, there is

an

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 43

an ancient Roman camp, of a considerable extent, fortified with walls and towers, which appear in many places pretty intire; they have dug out of this place a good number of Roman medals; from its figure we discover plainly what it was. Some think there was also a Roman camp at Flabemont (*Fabii mons*), between Nancy and Lay, because of some trenches still to be seen there. The greatest part of these castles owe their origin to the decay of the Roman empire in Gaul, and to the irruptions of the Germans into that country; at that time the Emperors were obliged to surround their frontiers with an infinite number of these fortresses, to hinder the depredations of the Barbarians; and for this reason we see so many of these castles upon the hills that separate Lorraine from Alsace, upon the banks of the Rhine, of the Mozelle, of the Sare, of the Blisse, of the Niede, and other places near Treves, which was for a long time the bulwark of the Gauls, and the residence of the

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Emperors; and for these reasons became the object of the people's revenge on the other side the Rhine, as soon as they broke down the barrier, and beat the Romans back into Gaul.

In these troublesome times it was not easy for the Emperors, who were engaged in the more pressing exigencies of the State, to give their usual attention to see their high-roads kept up and repaired. We find however, till the time of Constantine and his sons, of Maxentius, Theodosius, and Gratian, Arcadius and Honorius, that there were neither pains nor expences spared in keeping the roads in good repair; the laws of Theodosius in this particular are very remarkable⁴: these laws say, that bridges, high-ways, and causeways, are not of the number of those mean and contemptible works, from the expences of which people of quality, and ecclesiasticks, might pretend

⁴ *Leges abſt.*, Cod. Theod. de Itiner. muniend. 15. 3.

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 45

to an exemption. *Absit ut nos instructionem viæ publicæ, & pontium, stratarumque operam titulis magnorum principum dedicatam, inter sordida munera numeremus.*

These Princes allowed none, of what quality or degree soever, an exemption from contributing towards works of such use and importance. *Quæ viis publicis antiquitas tribuenda decrevit, sine ullius vel reverentiæ vel dignitatis exceptione præstanda.* But at length the necessary funds for these publick works failing by the desolation of the provinces, and the ravages committed by the Barbarians, who attacked them from all quarters, they were forced to give them over, and think of means for their more immediate preservation.

The first Kings of France, as well as others who had invaded Gaul, more intent upon securing the possession of their new acquired monarchy, than upon beautifying their cities, or repairing the ancient high-roads, applied themselves wholly to arms, to laborious exercises and mili-

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tary expeditions, to fortifying such places as were advantageous for them to possess, and to keep in repair those they found already fortified by the care of their predecessors.

And the first we hear of among them, who undertook to repair the high-roads in the kingdom of Austrasie, was Brunehaut wife of Sigebert I. King of that country, and daughter of Athanagilde King of the Visigoths, who reign'd in Spain; for to this day, what remains we have of the ancient Roman roads are called by the country people Brunehaut's causeways, and that famous tower to be seen upon a high mountain in Vaudemont is called La Tour de Brunehaut.

This Princess after the death of her husband, which happened in the year of our Lord 575, became Regent of the kingdom of Austrasie, which she governed till her death in 613 or 614: As she was of a bold and enterprizing spirit, she
has

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has rendered her name immortal by a number of good and bad actions. We have many monasteries founded by her, and other publick works, which would have done her honour, had the rest of her life been free from reproach. She was almost continually at the head of her armies, and fought a battel near Neuf-château, where her son's troops were cut to pieces*.

The ignorance of many ages made it pass for a truth that these causeways were owing to a certain fabulous King called Brunehaut, descended (according to some romantick historians)† from Bavon a Trojan priest, and nephew to King Priamus, who after the taking of Troy (which he had foretold) put to sea with some of his countrymen, who had escaped from the destruction of that unfortunate city, and after many wonderful adventures, arrived in Flanders, settled at Bavais, where his de-

* Fredegar. Chronic. c. 17.

† Reuch. Clarembald. Hugo. Tullens. Lucian. Tongrens. scendents

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scendents governed, and made great and noble works. The seventh of his pretended successors was this Brunehaut, to whom they would give all the honour due to the real Queen Brunehaut abovementioned, so well known in authentick history.

Since the Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, history furnishes us with nothing relating to our present subject that we can reasonably depend on, till the reign of Charlemagne: This great Prince, whose views and designs were as extensive as his monarchy, thought it would be a means to immortalize his memory, to repair the high-roads of the empire; being convinced that nothing could be more effectual to carry on and promote an intercourse of trade among the provinces, and forward the exportation of their merchandises: Nor would it be less useful in facilitating the marches of his troops and conveying the provisions necessary for their subsistence.

He

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 49

He made a law & by which he granted the clergy an exemption from all publick taxes, except their contingent of what was necessary to maintain the high-ways in the places where they had possessions: *Possessiones ad loca religiosa pertinentes, nullam descriptionem agnoscant, nisi ad institutionem viarum & pontium, si tamen intra eadem loca possessiones habuerint.*

The high-ways, bridges and causeways, which his Royal Highness Leopold the late Duke undertook since the year 1725. the design whereof was so great, the execution so difficult and expensive, that it is astonishing how a Prince whose territories were but small, and revenues moderate, could have formed a project of such importance, and have executed it in so short a time; and what still adds to the wonder is, that they are not the old roads he has repaired, where there was nothing to

¶ Caroli Magni Capitul. l. 6. c. 107.

do

50 A DISSERTATION upon the

do but mend the broken places, or make some additions to them in length or breadth, which was the case with the Emperors Maximus, Julian, Tacitus, Dioclesian, Maximinius, Constantine, Maxentius, and Gratian, who thought they had done a great deal, if they repaired and maintained what the first Cæsars had begun; no! these are all new made, and perfected with great labour and expence, notwithstanding the unevenness of the ground, the obstacles of waters and marshes, of rocks, forests, bogs, and many other difficulties. Nor did he think it enough to stretch the high-roads from the principal towns of his dominions to the capital city, but even made by-ones from town to town, and (I may say) almost from village to village, which is of incredible advantage to the country; and this at the same time that it gives us a proof of the vigilance of a Prince, always attentive to the interest and happiness of his people, shews us likewise the ardour and zeal of a laborious well disposed people to
second

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 51

second the good intentions of so generous a Prince.

Our high-roads reach from the frontiers of Champagne to Alsace; from Metz to Buffan, the frontiers of the upper Alsace; from Bar le Duc to the county of Burgundy, ending at Blonde Fontaine: Another road from Bar to the duchy of Burgundy by Langres, and from Bar le Duc to Germany by Sar-guemines; from the frontiers of Luxembourg to the frontiers of Alsace, Burgundy, Champagne, and the borders of the empire. All these roads unite at Nancy as in their center, and run from thence to the extremities of Lorraine, wherever they touch the neighbouring States. Such is the extent of the high-roads begun by his Royal Highness Leopold in 1725, and almost finished in 1727.

The Romans for the most part paved their roads, and made them as firm and solid as possible, by several layers of gravel,

52 A DISSERTATION upon the

vel, stone, sand, cement, and last of all by a thick and massive pavement. That admirable people affected every thing that was grand, lasting and solid; nor could any thing have been better devised than this composition, could the roads always have been kept in exact repair; but the least neglect in that repair, which ought to have perpetuated them, occasioned their ruin, and rendered them useless and impassable for many ages. As soon as a stone or two was misplaced, broken, or mouldered, the waggons and other wheel carriages, and even foot and horsemen were obliged to turn aside, and seek their way at some distance, and when they were forced to keep the high-road, they must have been exceedingly uneasy.

Those of Lorraine are made with less preparation and expence, but they are larger, more convenient, and in all appearance will be more lasting; their bottom which is firm and solid is overlaid with earth dug out of ditches they have made

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 53

made on each side of the road; and those ditches are twelve feet broad, and eight deep; between the ditch and the road there is a berme or faussebrae * six feet broad; upon the layer of earth thrown in the bottom, they put rubbish and rough stones which are laid as even as their figures will permit, and beat down with large hammers, so as to become solid and firm; and over all is laid as much gravel as fills the chinks of the stones, and afterwards in a greater quantity, which is rolled over with a wooden roller of a vast weight. This gravel they take care to renew and refresh every year, and oftner if it requires it. The breadth of the road is thirty two feet, which including the ditches and the berme is in all sixty eight feet. It is drawn in as straight a line as the ground will allow, and for that

* A term in fortification, which signifies a space between the foot of the rampart and the ditch, on which they plant pallisades for defence, and at the same time to hinder the mouldring from falling into the ditch; and for this later purpose they use it here.

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end they have spared neither corn fields, vines, nor woods, nor houses, always indemnifying the proprietors in assigning them an equal, or a greater portion of ground elsewhere.

By this manner of building they have obviated the inconveniences of the ancient high-roads; ours are smoother, larger, more commodious, and maintained at a less expence; coaches, waggons, carts, horse and foot find their advantage in it.

Each village has a certain space assigned to it, which it is obliged to maintain and keep in repair, and these distances are marked by posts set up for that purpose.

The experience we have of the roads from Foug to Thoul, and from St. Nicholas to Luneville, which have lasted now twenty years beautiful and intire, is a certain pledge of the like good success to be expected in those they have lately made, and those they are still making.

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 95

The medal here represented which gave occasion to this treatise, was graven by Monsieur de St. Urbain, graver to his Royal Highness, and in that art one of the most ingenious in Europe. The design was given by Monsieur the Count de Hautoy Seneschal of Lorraine, whom his Royal Highness appointed inspector and superintendent of the bridges, high-ways and causeways within his dominions; the reverse of the medal represents a horseman travelling alone, an emblem of the security which reigns in this country by reason of the just and steady administration of the Prince and his officers.

The two arches of the bridge with the pavement over them shew plainly the subject of the medal; the figure of plenty reposing indolently at the foot of the bridge, expresses the good effect of those works which have been undertaken for the conveniency of trade and commerce, by inviting and encouraging merchants to come
I with

56 A DISSERTATION upon the

with their effects to a country where they may travel with pleasure, and in perfect security from violence and oppression. We see pretty much the same thing in two medaillons struck at Antioch, where the river Meander is represented lying on a bridge, holding in one hand a reed, and in the other, a *Cornucopia*^h. Upon one of these bridges are two persons on foot, on the other one on horseback as you have it here.

In another struck in honour of Trajan, we see the *VIA TRAJANA* sit leaning upon a bridge, holding in one hand a reed, and in the other a wheelⁱ.

In our medal, upon a rock cut into a pedestal you have the God *TERMINUS*, or Mercury, the chief divinity of the high-roads, and placed there by the ancients at certain distances, carved sometimes at half length, or in bust, and sometimes

^h Antiquitez. expliqué Tom. IV. Supp. p. 90.

ⁱ Berg. l. 1. c. 25.

with

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 57

with only the head appearing; in one place of stone, or marble, in another of wood; here very artificially wrought, there rough and unpolished: *Truncoque simillimus Hermae*, as Juvenal¹ paints an ugly fellow. It was so common with the ancients to put Mercury on their roads, that they have given the name of HERMES to all other, as well men as divinities, whom they have made use of for that purpose, as HERM-ERACLEA, if it was a Hercules; HERM-ATHENA, if it was a Minerva; HERMA-MILTIADES, if it was Miltiades.

They have placed him here only as a symbol of commerce, travelling, and correspondence by letters and message.

The ancient Gauls worshipped Mercury even before the Romans conquered them, with these attributes, ¹*Deum maxime Mercurium colunt, Hujus sunt plurima simulacra. Hunc omnium inventorem ar-*

¹ Satyr. viii. v. 51.¹ Cæsar. Comment. l. 6. c. 17.

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*etum, hunc viarum, atque itinerum ducim;
hunc ad quasvis pecunie mercaturasque ba-
dere vim manum arbitrantur.*

There are still to be seen upon the hill of Framont, on the frontiers of Lorraine and Alsace, upon the ancient road which led along the mountains from one of these Provinces to the other, a great number of these statues of Mercury very antique, and without doubt of a Gaulish taste. The same deity was certainly held in veneration at Mirecourt, in Latin *Mercurium* from Mercury.

The high hill in Vaudemont was sacred to this God, and was called after him, before the Roman conquest, Wad, or Gad, which was the name the Gauls and Germans gave Mercury; and from thence comes ^m Got, or God used in the German language, and all such as are analogous to it.

^m Vossius de Orig. & Progress. Idolol. l. 1. c. 37.

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 59

Diana another of the guardians of the high roads was the same with Luna, Hecate, Trivia, Lucina, &c. She was also highly worshipped in this country. In 1696, in repairing the bridge upon the river Vair near Soulosse was found an ancient inscription, shewing that the inhabitants of that place had built the bridge before they were Christians:

IOVI. O. M.

VICANI. SOLIMARIACENSES.

FACIENDUM. CURAVERUNT.

M. E. D. EX VOTO. GNATUS ATEGNIA

F. P. & SEVERUS SILVANI LIBERTUS.

Luneville (now the place of the Duke's residence) owes its name to that divinity, and the wood of Leomont was sacred to her.

Montium custos, nemorumque Virgo,

• Horat. Car. l. 3.

I 3

• *Montium*

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• *Montium domina ut foret,
Sylvarumque virentium,
Saltuumque reconditorum,
Amniumque sonantium.*

In a fountain on the North side of this wood were found brazen legs offered up to this Goddess for cures pretended to have been wrought by her, and another statue of her with a half moon upon her head is a proof of the veneration wherein she was held in those parts: But let us return to our medal.

The inscription, or the legend, PROVIDENTIA PRINCIPIS, is a short encomium, but expressive of the wisdom and foresight of the Prince, who is represented upon the face of the medal. Not to puzzle the reader in the meaning of these words, they have put upon the bottom of the medal, VIÆ MUNITÆ, MDCCXXVII,

2. Catal. Sæculi c. 34.

which

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which perfectly agrees with some struck in honour of Augustus Cæsar^p, wherein upon the reverse of the triumphal arch we find, *QUOD VIÆ MUNITÆ SUNT*; the inscription is as follows, S. P. Q. R. IMP. CÆ. QUOD V. M. S. EX EA P. Q. I. S. AD. Æ. D. E. which signifies, *Senatus, populusque Romanus. Imperatori Cæsari, quod viæ munitæ sunt ex ea pecuniâ quæ jussu Senatûs ad Ærarium delata est.*

The high trees represented on the sides of the road, are of considerable use in the design of the medal; they signify that Lorraine is a woody country, and insinuate the necessity of fencing the high-roads with ditches and trenches to secure the traveller from robberies and murders, who must be liable to them in all close countries, unless care is taken to cut down the woods for a considerable space on each side of the road; and this is perhaps one of the most effectual ways in the world

^p Berg. grands Chem. de l'empire, l. 1. c. 25.

62 A DISSERTATION upon the

to prevent mischief of this kind, as it prevents surprize, and gives the traveller time to put himself in a posture of defence, on seeing his enemy at a distance, neither will the villain on his part be very forward to attack a person, whom he sees already disposed to receive him warmly, and this is so true, that we seldom hear of robberies committed but near hedges or woods, and all their success is owing to surprize.

From what we have related of the history of the ancient roads, we see that the Romans spared neither pains nor expences on the high-ways and other publick works in the Belgick Gaul, for conveniency of the inhabitants, of their armies, and of strangers; of all which there still remain considerable traces.

These useful works were neglected, or ill preserved under the last Emperors, and entirely abandoned by the first Kings of France.

Queen

High-Roads of LORRAINE. 63

Queen Brunehaut did indeed something towards their reparation. The Emperor Charlemagne knowing the importance of it gave orders for repairing the high-roads in all the parts of his vast empire; but the discords of his family, and the civil wars they occasioned after his death, rendered his projects abortive and his expences fruitless.

Since that time, the jealousies and emulations between the two great monarchies of France and Germany, with the continual wars that ravaged and laid waste the country of Lorraine, put it out of the power of our Dukes, to do any thing in the quality and by virtue of the dignity of *Marchis* wherewith they were vested, till the reign of Leopold the late Duke; that generous Prince had wisely employed the peace and tranquillity, with which heaven blessed his reign, in repairing these innumerable evils, which the wars in the preceding ones had brought upon his country,

64 A DISSERTATION, &c.

country, and in procuring to his people, then almost exhausted, the means of rebuilding their villages, cultivating the ground laid waste, and restoring trade and commerce, by the conveniency, beauty, and security of the high-roads and other publick works which he so generously undertook, and so happily accomplished.

The End of the DISSERTATION.

HAVING mentioned in my preface a genealogical series of medals of the Dukes and Duchesses of Lorraine by that eminent engraver Monsieur de St. Urbain, I thought it might be acceptable to some, who may not have occasion to see the medals themselves to give a description of them; I have therefore subjoined a Dissertation upon that work by the Abbot Calmet. Of this genealogical series there are but two sets in England, the one in the cabinet of his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, the other in my own hands.

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APPENDIX:
BEING A
DISSERTATION
UPON THE
Genealogical Series of MEDALS
OF THE
DUKES and DUCHESSES
OF THE
Royal House of LORRAINE.

WHatever concerns the grandeur, history and illustration of sovereign families, deserves the esteem and attention of the learned; nor is there any study more engaging; especially in the countries where such families subsist and possess the supreme authority.

Every

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Every body is desirous to know who were the great men that founded states and monarchies, and governed them; there are few who have not a taste for those things, which perpetuate the memory, and give a representation of those heroes.

This is a profitable study, and a commendable curiosity, which we justly value our selves upon.

Of all historical monuments, medals, (no doubt) are the most valuable, lasting, and most to be depended on; they transmit to posterity the pictures, names, the chronological periods, and the great actions of Princes and other eminent persons.

These monuments so venerable, that time it self stands in awe of them, are carefully preserved by Princes; they are consulted with confidence, and in the doubts and uncertainties that arise in points of history, it is to their decisions

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cisions we must refer, without them, we should be ignorant of an infinite number of facts, names, and important events.

An author who writes in his closet, may be ignorant of the truth of facts, of the time in which they happened, and may be mistaken in many circumstances, as he may be disposed to be partial or insincere, but 'tis rare, and almost impossible, that such who strike medals or coins to the honour of sovereign Princes, or other great men, dare impose upon the publick, and betray the truth in the face of the world, who sees and examines, with attention these monuments, which are immediately dispersed every where.

The House of Lorraine, tho' it has produced a great number of heroick Princes, did not till now form a design of composing a series of medals of its Dukes, the last age had no great taste for such solid and instructive curiosities, and most of our Princes more employ'd in war, than

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than in improving arts and sciences, had hardly time to celebrate themselves by metallick monuments.

The honour of that design was reserved to Leopold; his long and peaceable reign, in a knowing and curious age, so abounding in learned and ingenious men, has begun and perfected that work. In order to it, it was necessary to collect the scattered remains, of historical monuments, where they could be had up and down the country, to rank and compare them, to remove old prejudices, and to fix the true origin of the family now reigning, to give a series of its Dukes by a certain chronology, and last of all, to find out their pictures, statues and seals.

These searches have not been fruitless, and the industry of curious persons has furnished such good materials, as will make this work the most authentick of any that has hitherto appeared. They have happily found out the faces of the
Princes

A P P E N D I X. 69

Princes and Princesses who have reign'd in this state, since Gerard of Alsace to this day. And it is upon these originals that we have compos'd this series, where on one side of the medal you have a bust of the Duke, and on the other, that of his Duchesses, with their names and quality.

We were not only obliged to find out the pictures, names and quality of the Duchesses of Lorraine, to be able to put them upon the reverse of the medal, but also their birth, the rank they held in the world, and their relation to the other illustrious families of Europe, in order to make it as complete as possible.

Adelais, or Albertine, sister of Adelbert, founder of the abbey of Bouzonville, grand-father of Gerard of Alsace, the first hereditary Duke of Lorraine, was mother to the Emperor Conrade the Sallick. Judith wife of the same Adelbert, was sister of Sigisfroy first Count of Luxem-

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Luxembourg, and aunt of Cunigonde of Luxembourg, spouse of the Emperor Henry. Gerard son to Adelbart, married Gizelle, niece to the Emperor Conrade the Sallick, who was mother to Gerard of Alsace. Gerard married Haduide of Namure, descended of St. Arnold and Charlemagne, and grand-daughter to Charles of France Duke of the lower Lorraine.

Thiery son of Gerard took to wife Gertrude daughter of Robert Earl of Flanders.

Simon the I. Son of Thiery, married Adelais sister to the Emperor Lotharius. Matthew son of Simon, married Bertha daughter of Frederick Duke of Swabia, and sister to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

Since these times the House of Lorraine has always maintained itself in the same state and dignity.

In

A P P E N D I X. 71

In the number of our Princesses, we find five or six daughters of Emperors, twenty two directly of the Royal Family of France, above thirty four of a collateral descent; not to mention the alliances contracted with the Royal Houses of Hapsbourg, England, Poland, and those of Luxembourg, Limbourg, Bavaria, Bar, Wirtemberg, Mantua, Burgundy, and Gueldre.

This work is executed by Monsieur de St. Urbain engraver to his Royal Highness, and one of the most eminent that any age has produced; he has had the approbation of the Duke his Master; who, after a careful examination, and comparing the medals with the originals, from which they were struck, has been pleas'd to give his authority for their publication.

It were no great matter to produce a series of medals finely struck, if they were nothing else but the production of the

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gra-

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graver's imagination: no! the publick will have reality, as well as a beautiful appearance, in what is presented to it of this kind, and of the truth of this it may be fully satisfy'd.

All the faces have been taken from coins, seals, tombs, statues, basso relievos, paintings, and other monuments, which from a piety peculiar to this family, have been more frequent and better preserved here than in any other country in Europe.

It was with no small industry, pains and exactness, that all the pieces that compose this valuable collection have been put together; but we have at last succeeded, and we flatter our selves with the hopes of giving satisfaction, not only to the learned and curious of our own country, but also to strangers and foreigners, who may be desirous of seeing a representation of so many great and famous men, whose glorious exploits are

A P P E N D I X. 73

so well known all over Europe, and who are allied to the most illustrious families in it.

This collection is composed of thirty two medals, on which are twenty eight Dukes of Lorraine, having on the reverse their Duchesses, from Gerard of Alsace, to Leopold now reigning, which contains all of that House, whereof we have any account.

We were obliged to give a place in this series to Frederick I. Anthony, and Frederick II. all three Counts of Vaudemont, because of the share these Princes have had in the genealogy of the House of Lorraine.

The first was brother to Charles II. who left no male issue, and married the eldest of his two daughters to Renate of Anjou, and declared her heiress of the duchy of Lorraine. After his death the ducal crown devolved on Anthony his nephew,

74 A P P E N D I X.

as a male fief; he made war upon Renate, and took him prisoner at the battel of Boulengville; but not being in a condition to push his advantage, he was glad to marry his son Frederick II. to Jolland daughter of Duke Renate, and from this marriage issued Renate II, who in his person united the blood of Lorraine with that of Anjou.

He acquired the ducal crown after the death of Nicholas of Anjou, and continued the succession of the family now reigning.

We have also inserted Nicholas of Vaudemont and Chaligny, son of Duke Anthony, and brother of Francis I; he merited that distinction for the wisdom of his Regency during the minority of the great Duke Charles, and by his numerous and illustrious posterity is known by the name of Mercœur.

In

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In order to give a detail of the monuments from which they have taken the pictures upon the medals, we must acquaint the reader, that many learned men for two ages past have applied themselves to search into the records and antiquities of the House of Lorraine: Among others the Abbot Fournier Grand Provost of St. George's collegiate Church in Nancy, and Counsellor of State to his Royal Highness, has with indefatigable industry, (sparing neither trouble nor expence) recovered the pictures of all the Dukes and Duchesses: He imploied the most famous painters he could find, to draw from the originals he had got in possession, and furnished his cabinet from Matthew I. great grandson of Gerard of Alsace to Charles V.

It is to the same Abbot we are obliged for the heads of the Duchesses, who lived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which were more difficult to be had than those of the Dukes, because we have fewer of their tombs and seals.

K 3

And

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And the conformity that may be observed between what we have of these ancient times with those furnished by him, is a great presumption in favour of his candour and exactness.

Besides the help of these pictures, which are now in his Royal Highness's cabinet, we have discovered several ancient monuments which had escaped the inquiry of Abbot Fournier; we have recovered seals, coins, medals, pictures and prints, which he had not seen, so that we can assure the publick to have given a complete series of medals of our Dukes and Duchesses, and as like them as it was possible for the artists of those times to have made them.

Nicholas Clement Trellius, or de Treille, a learned and curious person, who lived in the sixteenth century, has composed a work under the title of *Austrasie Reges & Duces, epigrammatis illustrati, cum iconibus ex arte expressis*, in 4^{to} Coloniae 1591.

The

The copper plates in it are of a pretty good taste, and it were to be wished he had told us where he found the originals; but the pictures he has of the Dukes in and about his own time are very like, which is a presumption of his faithfulness in the more remote ones.

Our ancient Dukes did not intirely neglect to preserve the memory of their ancestors, since there are to be seen in the gallery of the palace of Nancy, which we know was built by Duke Anthony, whose statue on horseback is upon the principal entry; I say, we see the number of twenty heads, on nineteen of which we read this device, JESPERE AVOIR, which was that of Renate II, and upon the Contour of one of the keystones of the arch we read, RENATUS REX; this head is certainly that of King Renate: He was the first Duke of Lorraine, who took the title of King of Jerusalem, asundoubted heir to the House of Anjou, ex-

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actly resembling what we have of him in other places; there are many others in this ancient palace, but much defaced by their antiquity.

The great Duke Charles, who may justly be looked upon as the restorer of literature in Lorraine, assembled in his territories a great number of men learned in all kinds of arts and sciences, among whom were many excellent gravers and sculptors.

There are few considerable events of this reign that have not some medal struck upon them, many of which have been given by the historians of this country.

This taste continued all the reign of Henry II, and the beginning of Charles IV, but the continual wars, during the greatest part of this Prince's reign, dispersed those artists, and banished letters with the taste of antiquity, which did not properly return till the present reign.

An

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An Account of the Originals, from which were taken the Pictures upon the Medals, which compose the genealogical Series of the Dukes and Duchesses of Lorraine.

I. **G**Erard of Alsace, first hereditary Duke of Lorraine, is interred in the church of the abbey of Remiremont, but no Mausoleum over him; nor have we been able to recover either coin or seal of that Prince: John of Bayon a Dominican Friar, who writ a chronicle of the abbey of Moyen-Moutier, has given his character; from which we have made his picture, by conforming the lineaments of his face to the qualities of his mind, according to our idea of the relation that generally holds between them: he was, says that author, a young Prince, of a lively, bold, and enterprising temper, of great courage, and strength
of

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of body, cunning and politick in his conduct; he seized upon the castles and fortresses which belonged to the great men of the country, from whose power he might apprehend any opposition in establishing his new monarchy. *Vir acris ingenii, castra procerum callide & vi ausingendo, &c.*

Haduide of Namure his wife, is to be seen in an antique sculpture, in the cloister of the priory of Chatenoy, which she founded; she was daughter of Albert Count of Namure, and of Emergarde of France, of the blood of Charlemagne.

II. Thiery, son of Gerard of Alsace, is to be seen in the same priory; upon his tomb there is a sculpture of him in basso relievo; he married Gertrude of Flanders, daughter of Robert of Friesland, and of Gertrude Countess of Friesland, widow of Count Florentin.

III. Simon

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III. Simon I. son of Thiery, is represented upon his seals, which are preserved in the records of the church of St. Die, and from them we have drawn his picture. He married Adeluide of Guerfort, sister to the Emperor Lotharius II. and daughter of Gerard Count of Guerfort, Suplenbourg and Armsberg, and of Haduide daughter of Frederick of Bavaria Bourgrave of Nurembourg.

IV. Matthew son of Simon I. founder of the abbey of Clairlieu, has his statue in that church in a kneeling posture, with his wife Bertha, at the foot of a crucifix; there are also many of his seals still extant; Bertha his wife was sister to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, niece of Conrade III. and aunt of Henry VI. both Emperors, and daughter of Frederick II. Duke of Suabia.

V. Simon II. son of Matthew I. was buried at Sultsburn; his picture is to be

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be seen upon his seals preserved in the abbey of Beauprez; he died without leaving issue, and was married to Ida of Vienne, daughter of Gerard Count of Macon and Vienne.

VI. Ferrand, or Frederick I. second son of Matthew I. is to be seen upon a stone in basso relievo, placed above the porch of the church of Pelney near Neufchâteau in Lorraine, which he founded, and upon his seals; he was buried at Sultzburn, and married Ludomile of Poland, daughter of Micheslaus Duke of Poland, and Adelaide sister of the Emperor Henry V.

VII. Frederick II, son of Frederick I. His picture is drawn from a copper-plate of Clement de Treile; he married Agnes of Bar, daughter of Theobald the first Count of Bar, and of Loretta of Loffe.

VIII. Theobald I. son to Frederick II, His picture is drawn from his seals kept in the

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the abbey of Beauprez; he died without issue, married Gertrude of Asbourg, daughter of Albert Count of Moha, Desbourg, Metz, &c. and of Gertrude of Loffe, daughter of Louis Count of Loffe.

IX. Matthew II. son of Frederick II. is drawn from his seals, and a picture furnished by the Abbot Fournier; he married Katharine of Limbourg, daughter of Valeran first Count of Limbourg, and of Ermenfane Countess of Luxembourg; she was sister of Henry Count of Luxembourg, and of Valeran the second Count of Ligny; from the one sprung the Counts of Luxembourg, and he was grandfather of the Emperor Henry VII. John of Bohemia, Charles IV. Vincellaus and Sigismond Emperors, and the other was progenitor of the Counts of Ligny.

X. Fredrick III. son of Matthew II. is represented from the life, on his tomb, in the area of the church of Beauprez, on the right hand of the great altar, whence

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whence we have made his picture: that of his wife Margaret of Navarre is drawn from her tomb in the convent of the preaching nuns at Nancy, which her husband founded.

XI. Theobald II. son of Frederick III. was buried at Beauprez, where his statue is to be seen finely wrought; he married Isabella of Rumigny, daughter of Hugh II. Lord of Rumigny, and of Florin; her mother was heiress of the house of Boucs.

XII. Frederick IV. son of Theobald II. is drawn from his tomb in the church of Beauprez; he married Isabella of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Albert, and of Elizabeth Duchess of Carinthia.

XIII. Rodolphus, or Raoul, son of Frederick IV. was buried at Beauprez, where his effigies was formerly to be seen, and from which the Abbot Fournier drew his picture; but being much decayed, it has been

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been repaired by order of his Royal Highness; he married Mary of Blois, daughter of Guido first Count of Blois, and of Margaret of Vallois, daughter of Charles of France, Count of Vallois, and father of Philip of Vallois King of France.

XIV. John I. son of Raoul, was interred in St. George's church in Nancy, where his statue is to be seen in marble; from which, because of its excellent workmanship, we have taken his picture, tho' there are many other monuments of him; he married Sophia of Wirtemberg, daughter of Everard III. Count of Wirtemberg, and of Elizabeth of Henneberg.

XV. Charles II. son of John I. built an altar for the Blessed Virgin, in the collegiate church of St. George, on which is engrav'd the adoration of the wise-men, with this Prince in their train, as was his wife Margaret of Bavaria, daughter of Rupert Duke of Bavaria, chosen Emperor after the deposition of *Vincellaus*; Rupert

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part married Elizabeth daughter of Frederick of Bavaria his uncle.

XVI. Renate I. of Anjou, second Son of Louis XI. of Anjou King of Naples, &c. and of Jolland of Arragon, has a noble Mausoleum over him in the cathedral church of Angers, where he is represented in basso relievo; we have also a medal of him, which carries *Rex Renatus*; there are coins and several pictures of that Prince drawn by himself; he married Isabella of Lorraine, daughter of Charles II. her picture is taken from her tomb in the cathedral of Angers, where she was also interred.

XVII. John II. son of Renate I. died, and was buried in Barcelona; we were not able to find either coin, seal or picture of this Prince, but what we have from Clement de Treille, and the Abbot Fourniere; nor have we any account of his wife but from them, she was daughter of Charles I. Duke of Burgundy, and of Margaret of Bavaria.

XVIII. Ni-

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XVIII. Nicholas of Anjou son of John II. died unmarried, his statue is to be seen in St. George's church in Nancy, from which we have drawn him; he was betrothed first to Anne of France daughter of Louis XI, and afterwards to Mary daughter of Charles the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy.

XIX. Frederick I, Count of Vaudemont, second son of John Duke of Lorraine, and brother to Charles II: He married Margaret of Joinville; both their statues beautifully wrought are to be seen in one piece of white marble, upon their tomb in the collegiate church of St. Laurence in Joinville; she was daughter of Henry V, Count of Vaudemont, and of Mary of Luxembourg.

XX. Anthony of Lorraine Count of Vaudemont, son of Count Frederick I, and Mary of Harcourt, and Aumale his wife, are both drawn from their tomb in

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the collegiate church of Vaudemont, she was daughter of John Count of Harcourt and of Mary of Alanfon.

XXI. Frederick II, Count of Vaudemont, son of Anthony and Jollande of Anjou his wife, are drawn from their figures upon their tomb in the collegiate church of Jonville; she was daughter of Renate I. of Anjou, King of Sicily, Duke of Lorraine and of Isabella of Lorraine.

XXII. Renate II, son of Frederick II, Count of Vaudemont and of Isabella of Anjou, is drawn from his statue in the Cordeliers church in Nancy. There are representations of this herolek Prince of all kinds, which agree in the likeness, that of his wife is taken from her tomb in the church of the Nuns of St. Clare in Pont-à-Mousson, with whom that Princess past the last years of her life; she was Philippa of Gueldre daughter of Adolphus of Egmont, Duke of Gueldre, and of Katharine of Bourbon,

XXIII. An-

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XXIII. Anthony son of Renate II, is drawn from his coins, seals, medals and statues, which are frequent in the country; but we have a chief regard to his statue on horseback completely armed, which is upon the gate of the palace, and which we know to have been done by an eminent hand, and to a medal on the reverse of which is Renata of Bourbon his spouse, she was daughter of Gilbert of Bourbon Count of Montpensier, and of Clara of Gonzague.

XXIV. Francis I, son of Anthony, is drawn from the best of his pictures and medals, which are pretty frequent; his wife, of whom there are also several representations, was Christina, daughter of Cristiern King of Denmark, and of Elizabeth of Austria.

XXV. Nicholas of Lorraine Count of Vaudemont, Regent during the minority of Charles III, is taken from his tomb,

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where

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where there is a fine figure of him, as there is of his two wives in one piece of rare workmanship in the Cordeliers church of Nancy.

XXVI. Charles III. (son of Francis I.) surnamed the Great, had many pictures made of him, and medals struck in honour to him, from the best of which we have drawn him; his wife is to be seen on a silver medal formerly belonging to Mr. Bourcer, first President of the Parliament of Nancy, and now to his son Attorney general; she was Claude, daughter of Henry II. King of France, and of Katharine of Medicis.

XXVII. Henry II. surnamed the Good, son to Charles III. is drawn from the best of his statues, of which there are many in brass and marble, as his coins and pictures are frequent; his wife is drawn from an excellent picture of her by the pencil of the famous Borbus, and now in the cabinet of the Prince of Craon;

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she was daughter of Vincent I. Duke of Mantua, and of Eleanor of Medicis, daughter of Francis Great Duke of Tuscany and of Jean of Austria.

XXVIII. Francis II, Count de Vaudemont and after Duke of Lorraine, by the restitution that his son Charles IV, made him of the duchy, was a younger son of Charles III, is drawn from his coins; he married Christina of Salm, of whom we have many pictures; she was daughter of Paul Count of Salm, and Mary le Veneur of Carouge.

XXIX. Charles IV, son of Francis II, is to be seen upon an infinite number of medals and coins; and there are many pictures of him, as there are also of his wife Nicolle of Lorraine; she was daughter of Duke Henry II, and of Marguerite of Gonzague.

XXX. Nicholas Francis brother of Charles IV, is drawn from his picture done

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done at Florence by an eminent hand, which agrees with his coins and seals; he became Duke by the cession of his brother Charles IV, at Epinaly the 26th of August 1633; his wife, of whom there are many pictures, was a younger daughter of Duke Henry II.

XXXI. Charles V, son of Nicholas Francis, is drawn from the medals struck in honour of him at Vienna, and from his pictures, of which there are many by the best hands; he married Eleanor Mary of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand III, Emperor, and of Eleanor of Mantua; she was sister of the Emperor Leopold, and widow of Michael King of Poland.

XXXII. His Royal Highness Leopold lately dead was son of Charles V, of triumphant memory, married her Royal Highness Madame Elizabeth of Orleans, daughter of Philip Duke of Orleans, only brother to Louis XIV, King of France,

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France, and Elizabeth Charlotte of Bavaria.

To prevent mistakes we thought fit to acquaint the publick, that we have followed the custom established in the country of calling Charles, son of Duke John, Charles II, of that name; because we count Charles of France, who was invested in the duchy by the Emperor Otho, about the year 957; and that Henry the Good is called the second of that name, because of another Henry brother of the Emperor Otho, who was beneficiary Duke of Lorraine.

It is likewise to be observed, that tho' many of our Dukes have had different wives, there are none of these Princesses put in the genealogical series, but such whose sons came to succeed, or continued the succession of the family. And finally to render the work more exact, it was thought fit, to distinguish the Prin-

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ces of the House of Lorraine, from those of Anjou, by a difference in the characters of their medals, those of the latter being smaller, as are also those of the three Princes of Vaudemont.

It is likewise to be observed, that though many of our Dukes have had different names, there are none of these Princes who in the genealogical series, but such whose names came to success, or continu-
of the succession of the family. And finally to render the work more exact, it was thought fit to distinguish the Prin-

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of Lorraine.

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A Genealogical Table of the Dukes
of Lorraine, which will serve
to put their Medals in their due
Order.

L Leopold	Eliz. Charlote of Orleans
Charles V.	Eleanor Mary of Austria.
Nicholas Francis	Claude of Lorraine.
Charles IV.	Nicolle of Lorraine.
Francis II.	Christina of Salm.
Henry II.	Margarite of Gonzague.
Charles III.	Claude of France.
Nicholas of Vaudemont.	
Francis I.	Christina of Denmark.
Anthony	Renata of Bourbon.
Renate II.	Philippa of Gueldre.
Frederick II. of Vaudemont	} Jolande of Anjou.
Anthony of Vaudemont	} Mary of Harcourt.
Frederick I. of Vaudemont.	} Margarite of Joinville.
Nicholas of Anjou	

M

John

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John II. of Anjou	} Mary of Bourbon.
Renate I. of Anjou	} Isabella of Lorraine.
Charles II.	Margarite of Bavaria.
John I.	Sophia of Wirtemberg.
Raoul or Rodolphus	} Mary of Blois.
Frederick IV.	Isabella of Austria.
Theobald II.	Isabella of Rumigny.
Frederick III.	Margarite of Navarre.
Matthew II.	Katharine of Limbourg.
Theobald I.	Gertrude of Ausbourg.
Frederick II.	Agnes of Bar.
Frederick I.	Ludomile of Poland.
Simon II.	Ida of Vienne
Matthew I.	Berth of Swede.
Simon I.	Adelaide of Guerfort.
Thiery, or Theodorick	} Gertrude of Flanders.
Gerard of Alsace	} Hadulde of Namure.

P O S T.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE my coming lately to Britain, I am informed that there are in several Southern counties of England, by the care and attention of some publick spirited noblemen and gentlemen, some parts of the roads mended and rendered very good; therefore I desire that what I have said in the fifth and tenth pages of my preface, may be understood to relate to the present state and condition of our roads in general.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

PAGE 41. of the Dissertation line ult. for generation
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